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New York

President:	Mr. Wang Yingfan	(China)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Ireland	Mr. Ryan
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Kassé
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Mejdoub
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Briefing by Mr. Kamel Morjane, Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Head of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-46546 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Briefing by Mr. Kamel Morjane, Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Head of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Belgium, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Namibia, Rwanda and Zimbabwe, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ileka (Democratic Republic of the Congo) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. De Ruyt (Belgium), Mr. Theron (Namibia), Mr. Gasana (Rwanda) and Mr. Jokonya (Zimbabwe) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Kamel Morjane, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and head of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Morjane to take a seat at the Council table.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Morjane. It is my understanding that he is also prepared to answer questions and provide clarifications if need be.

I wish to point out that this is going to be the last time that Mr. Morjane will participate in our meetings. On this occasion, I wish, on behalf of the Council, to pay special tribute to Mr. Morjane for his consistent and tireless efforts in moving the peace process forward in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Through his diplomatic skills, tenacity and effective leadership of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mr. Morjane has forged good relations with the various parties and has earned the full confidence of the Security Council. We note with satisfaction that Mr. Morjane, while relinquishing his present functions, will continue to contribute his enormous talent to the United Nations family by returning to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

At the end of the briefing, I shall give the floor to Council members who wish to make comments or ask questions. I invite members to raise their hand if they wish to take the floor.

I welcome the Secretary-General, who is with us this morning, and give him the floor.

The Secretary-General: We meet at an important moment in the development of the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Over the past few months, there have been several positive developments. The ceasefire is holding at the confrontation lines, notwithstanding some allegations of violations, which the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) is investigating. Most of the forces have withdrawn in accordance with the Harare disengagement plan. MONUC's relations with the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo remain positive and cooperative. I had a very constructive meeting with Presidents Kabila and Kagame in Lusaka earlier this month in the margins of the summit of the Organization of African Unity. I was encouraged that they both pledged to improve dialogue and cooperation, undertake confidence-building measures and avoid incitement.

However, as members are all aware, the restoration of peace and stability in the Congo will ultimately rest on the success of the inter-Congolese dialogue. I would therefore like to commend the tireless efforts of the facilitator, Sir Ketumile Masire, that have led to the adoption by all parties of the Declaration of Fundamental Principles of the Inter-Congolese Political Negotiations.

Like you, Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Kamel Morjane, who has served very effectively as my Special Representative in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. As you mentioned, even though he is leaving his current post, he is returning to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, where he has served for many years. I am sure he will continue to make a very constructive contribution to the work of the Organization. We here in the Council will probably have the opportunity of seeing him from time to time. I think that, during his service, he has helped bring the parties back to the path of negotiation and has given the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo new hope of escaping the cycle of violence and instability. I would also say that, through his political and diplomatic skills, his long experience with the region and its difficult issues and the relations he has developed with all the parties, Mr. Morjane has served with great distinction the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as Africa and the United Nations.

Mr. Morjane's successor will face considerable challenges. The third phase of MONUC's deployment is about to begin and, as Mr. Morjane has informed the Security Council, we are still far from the point in the Democratic Republic of the Congo where the peace process is irreversible. Only last week, three respected non-governmental organizations told us of the appalling humanitarian and human rights situation encountered by millions of Congolese and of serious obstacles still to be overcome. Perhaps chief among these is the central issue of the disarmament, demobilization, repatriation, resettlement and reintegration of the armed groups, without which progress in other areas will be very difficult. The continued resolve of the Security Council, which has been steadfast in its support of the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, will be essential in the process as we move forward. I trust that the Council will continue to display the same high level of interest in the challenges and opportunities facing the Democratic Republic of the Congo as it has over the past two years of MONUC's existence.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I shall now give the floor to Mr. Morjane.

Mr. Morjane (*spoke in French*): At the outset, I wish to express my gratitude and thanks for the great honour of being allowed to participate in this open meeting devoted to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is further evidence of the Council's interest in settling the conflict that has shaken that country, which is essential for peace in Africa.

The historic visit of an important Security Council delegation, led by Ambassador Levitte, to the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region last May, as well as the Council's regular meetings and consultations on the situation there, are striking demonstrations of its commitment and tireless determination to spare no effort to support and accompany the people of the Congo and all the peoples of the region on the long and difficult road to peace and harmony.

As the mission relevantly noted following its visit on the ground, the prospects and real opportunities for a successful conclusion to the concerted efforts to restore peace and stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and throughout the region have never been as great as they are today. Respect for the ceasefire, at least between the signatories; the disengagement and redeployment of forces, although not fully accomplished; the political changes in Kinshasa; preparations for the inter-Congolese dialogue; and the deployment of military contingents of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) are certainly positive signs of that favourable situation.

However, we must also note that peace is not yet certain and that there will undoubtedly be pitfalls and obstacles along the way. The recalcitrance of certain parties and the temptation to preserve the status quo are indications of the anxieties and fears concerning the difficulties threatening peace. In the immediate future, it will be crucial for all parties to demonstrate restraint and a spirit of compromise and responsibility by adhering strictly to the ceasefire and by refraining from taking any action and act that could contribute to the deterioration of the situation. Only the pursuit of the dialogue and effective cooperation to strengthen the

climate of trust between the parties will make it possible to overcome the reluctance, fears and doubts of the parties concerning each other's true will and commitment. All of the parties must transcend mistrust and resentment to build trust and peace through dialogue.

It is therefore with satisfaction and hope that we perceive the continuation of contact and dialogue among the leaders of the region. It is in that context that we see the initiative of the Secretary-General to bring Presidents Kagame and Kabila together at Lusaka, at the margins of the summit of the Organization of African Unity. This dialogue and exchange should be pursued without fail, because cooperation and understanding between the leaders are the only effective way to identify viable arrangements to ensure the peaceful coexistence between the peoples in the region by addressing together the factors of instability and violence that hinder development and progress.

The issue of the armed groups whose attacks and violent actions, especially in Kivu, have threatened the peace efforts urgently requires a visionary strategy with a view in particular to establishing an effective ceasefire throughout Congolese territory, as well as the remobilization of all parties in the implementation of their obligations in accordance with the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo and its neighbours, Rwanda and Uganda in particular, must show political will and an unwavering commitment to reconciling security concerns and requirements for regional stability with the fundamental need to work for the rehabilitation of the territorial integrity and unity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Not acting in this way to restore the hope for peace will make the present moment a mere lull before an escalation of violence and a resumption of hostilities, which would be fatal for peace. This imposes on all parties not only the pressing obligation to continue to respect the ceasefire, to refrain from any action that would create a climate of tension or engender violence, including attacks by armed groups, and especially to cooperate with MONUC frankly and without hesitation.

All of the parties must stop creating difficulties, obstructions and obstacles by making their respect for their commitments dependent on conditions or demands intended only to delay. The frank cooperation and facilitation that the parties to the peace process must provide MONUC in order to contribute to the effectiveness of its deployment and its operations certainly include firm and credible guarantees for the security and freedom of movement of the civilian and military personnel of the Mission. I must remind the parties that this also includes the need for them to show good faith and to build mutual trust, not only by favouring consultation and dialogue, as we have indicated, but also by refraining from using delaying tactics and making extreme or threatening declarations. The preparations for the plan for the disarmament of the armed groups, which we call disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation or resettlement (DDRRR), as well as the preparations for the plan for the withdrawal of foreign forces, require the total cooperation of the parties with MONUC and the Joint Military Commission.

Allow me to welcome the initiative of the Ugandan Government, which has set up a partial withdrawal plan for its troops and has begun to implement it. We would also like to welcome the willingness recently expressed by Namibia to proceed with the withdrawal of its troops from the Democratic Republic of the Congo in the coming months.

For MONUC, Security Council resolution 1355 (2001) is the framework and plan for all of these future activities for the next stage. The disarmament of armed groups, the withdrawal of foreign forces, the demilitarization of Kisangani, the freedom of river navigation — all of these objectives have been set for MONUC. Certainly, when all of these actions begin to be implemented, along with the start of the inter-Congolese dialogue, the point of no return to war may have been achieved. Peace can be lasting only if it is accompanied by a joint project between former belligerents. We all should devote ourselves now to the design of such a project, in order to make the natural resources that fuel the war today factors of economic cooperation and necessary, indivisible common interest. I am convinced that water, the source of life and energy, could be for the countries of the Great Lakes today what coal and steel were for the Europe of yesteryear.

Finally, I would like to welcome the efforts of President Masire, the facilitator, and his team. I fervently hope that they will manage to begin the

dialogue on 20 August, as planned. The success of the peace process depends on it.

I will soon have to leave MONUC, as you, Mr. President, just announced and as the Secretary-General has confirmed. I would like to thank you for the very kind words you expressed to me. Having to leave MONUC for pressing personal reasons, I would like to ask for your patience as I publicly and solemnly address a few words of thanks to those who have helped me to carry out this difficult but exciting mission that the Secretary-General did me the honour of entrusting to me. I can begin only by thanking the members of the Council for the unwavering support they have given me, which allowed me, especially at the most difficult times, to continue to believe that this mission was not impossible. I would like to express my utmost gratitude.

I would also like to thank the Secretary-General, who gave me this great opportunity to serve two causes that are very dear to me: peace and Africa. I hope that I was able to measure up to his confidence. I would like to assure him that I have been proud to be his Special Representative.

I could not have accomplished my mandate without the trust and cooperation of all parties, who even in moments of uncertainty and disagreement have never let me down, whether within the Political Committee or in our bilateral relations. For that, I will be eternally grateful.

This is also an opportunity for me to thank my Government for having allowed me to carry out this mission and fully benefit from Tunisia's policy of moderation and tolerance, for which it is known in Africa and throughout the world. I would also like to mention with great gratitude the diplomatic corps in Kinshasa and my colleagues from the United Nations system for the unconditional support and the friendly welcome I received from them. Without their active solidarity, the peace process would not exist today. I would also like to thank my colleagues in the Secretariat, particularly those from the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, for their support and coopération. I must also mention with great emotion the Congolese, all Congolese, of every social category, who have done me the kindness of showing me their confidence and support in various ways. I hope I have not let them down. I will remember them warmly and will maintain the hope of seeing their great country soon regain the unity of its territory and peace with all its neighbours.

I shall conclude with a few words for those without whom my presence here would have no meaning, those who have built this Mission and who, in the field, create a real chance for peace every day. I would like to mention all of my colleagues in MONUC, both civilians and military personnel, from the ordinary soldiers to the Force Commander, General Diallo. I would like to express my sincere gratitude and loyalty to them.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Mr. Morjane for his comprehensive briefing. It is regrettable that this is the last meeting in which we will discuss with him the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo together. However, as was said by the Secretary-General, we will have more opportunities in the future to meet. This gladdens us.

I shall now give the floor to the members of the Council who wish to make comments or ask questions.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): This morning, in the presence of the Secretary-General, we are experiencing a moment of genuine emotion. The Ambassador of Belgium will soon express the views and the hopes of the entire European Union, but I should like to make a few comments in my national capacity.

First, I wish to express the real sadness we feel today in saying good-bye for now to Kamel Morjane, an outstanding Special Representative of the Secretary-General. During the last 20 months, Kamel Morjane has devoted all his efforts to advancing the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Together, this morning, we can measure the progress made, thanks to him, since the end of 1999. Kamel Morjane has demonstrated exceptional courage, daily dedication, extraordinary political sense and tireless will. Like all my Council colleagues, I would like to pay a heartfelt tribute to him. Kamel Morjane is an example for all of us. He has shown to the entire Congolese people the best possible image of the United Nations. Through him, I would like to express to all the personnel of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) the gratitude of France.

The peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo today is on a sound footing. The ceasefire

between the parties to the Lusaka Agreement is being respected and the implementation of this text has begun. The disengagement and the redeployment of forces is almost complete. The parties to the Agreement are working on drawing up comprehensive plans for the withdrawal of foreign forces and for the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation or resettlement (DDRRR) of armed groups. These plans must be finalized as soon as possible. Another crucial aspect of the peace process — the inter-Congolese dialogue — is also being prepared under the leadership of the facilitator and his representative in Kinshasa. The preparatory meeting is planned for 20 August. The dialogue itself must be held as quickly as possible, and preferably — I stress this — on Congolese soil.

Moreover, and even if this point does not fall directly within the competence or the action of Mr. Morjane or MONUC, the serious issue of the exploitation of the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo must be mentioned here. Since the publication of the report of the Panel of Experts last April, this issue has been the subject of growing awareness among the international community and is emerging more and more clearly as one of the driving forces of the conflict and of serious violations of human rights. We hope that the publication of the addendum to this report, in the fall, will attest to the progress made in resolving this serious issue.

The peace process in Burundi, which is inseparable from the settlement of the crisis in the region, is also undergoing important developments, thanks to the commitment and the perseverance of the mediator of the Arusha peace process, Mr. Mandela. However, current realities, unfortunately, are showing us the extent to which this process remains a fragile one, full of pitfalls.

We see that the crisis in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the region, where the Council went on a mission in May, has undergone positive developments that are opening up a real window of opportunity. However, as was emphasized by Mr. Morjane a few minutes ago, the dynamic of peace has not yet reached the point of no return. Numerous difficulties and certain major obstacles must still be overcome.

Given the situation, which is still unstable, our Council must have a clear vision of the tasks to be fulfilled. In our view, we need first and foremost to maintain and to intensify the gains. Respect for the ceasefire requires an ongoing daily effort, and we encourage all bilateral contacts between belligerents, within the framework of the Lusaka Agreement, to improve confidence between the parties. From that perspective, the meeting to be held under the auspices of the Secretary-General between President Kabila and President Kagame is a first step in the right direction.

It is also vital that MONUC be able to carry out its necessary verification work. I am thinking in particular of disengagement in Equateur Province, where Mr. Bemba's Mouvement pour la libération du Congo (MLC) has moved only with delays, which explains why MONUC has not been able to verify such movement on the ground. MONUC must also attest to the actual departure of the Forces armées congolaises from the positions that they are still occupying in Katanga, in contradiction to the Harare sub-plans. For this reason and for many others, it is absolutely necessary for all parties to cooperate fully every day with MONUC. Ambassador Morjane rightly insisted on this. In this regard, the Security Council cannot accept — today, tomorrow or yesterday — United Nations personnel being subjected to pressures or threats. Our Council is determined to act with the greatest possible firmness on this issue.

The parties to the conflict must comply with all their commitments and respect all their obligations. One of the major obstacles today to the continuation of the peace process is unquestionably the delay in the demilitarization of Kisangani. The demilitarization of this city, which the Council had demanded a year ago in resolution 1304 (2000), today symbolizes the peace process and reconciliation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Following Rwanda and Uganda, the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD-Goma) must now abide by this obligation without further delay. What is at stake here is its credibility as a partner in the peace process. The Security Council calls on all those who have influence on the RCD-Goma, in particular Rwanda, to convey this demand and to finally achieve implementation of this decisive step of the peace process.

The activities of armed groups in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as in Rwanda and Burundi, form another serious threat to the return of peace. The signatories of the Lusaka Agreement are together preparing a DDRRR

programme. There is a need to begin tackling this difficult issue immediately. The first stage consists of interrupting and preventing all forms of support to these groups and to begin implementing DDRRR wherever possible. We have taken note with great interest of President Kabila's offer to launch the movement on a voluntary basis, with the 3,000 fighters who are now quartered in two camps in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. MONUC is ready to help, within its means, and this is why the donor community must also provide its full support to United Nations actions.

The economic and humanitarian situation remains disastrous, despite the outstanding action in the field carried out in particularly difficult conditions by the United Nations agencies and the non-governmental organizations. The reopening of the rivers will provide a breath of air to the Congolese people by improving the delivery of supplies to the cities. Here, too, all parties must assist MONUC in re-establishing this vital link among the Congolese. Beyond that, the international community is ready to provide its full assistance to support the progress of the peace process, to ease the suffering of the Congolese people and to assist the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in implementing its ambitious economic reform programme. All parties, moreover, must ensure strict respect for human rights in the sectors they control. Together with the Special Rapporteur, Mr. Garreton, who is currently in the region, the Council intends to continue to devote its attention to this question. There can be no settlement or reconciliation if human rights violations are not punished. There can be no impunity; there must no longer be any impunity.

As I said earlier, the friends of Mr. Morjane — who are the friends of peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the region — are very sad to see him leave. However, the Security Council is unanimously determined to continue to follow, in the same impartial manner that characterized all of Mr. Morjane's work, the course that he has charted: that of the implementation, without any concessions, of the agreements signed by the parties themselves and of all the resolutions of the Security Council.

In due time, together with his successor — as soon as he or she is appointed — it is that path that we intend to follow in the service of peace and in the interests of the people of the Congo and of the entire region.

Mr. Mejdoub (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): Allow me at the outset to thank you, Mr. President, for having convened this open briefing on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Today's meeting, which is taking place at a very crucial stage of the peace process, makes it possible for the members of the Council and for the other participating States to assess together the situation and the prospects for peace.

I should like also to welcome among us the Secretary-General and to express to him our deep appreciation for the tireless efforts he has been making in the search for peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in Africa and throughout the world. Let me also thank him for the important statement he made.

My delegation would like also to thank Ambassador Kamel Morjane, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his extensive briefing. We would like to pay tribute to him for the outstanding role he has played as head of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). His dedication and his personal efforts, as well as the efforts made by the Force Commander, General Diallo, and by all of the personnel of the Mission, to restore peace and security in the Democratic Republic of the Congo — often in very difficult conditions — deserve our greatest appreciation and support.

The assessment just presented by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative shows that progress has been made in the peace process. We are pleased with this state of affairs. However, they also pointed out that that progress is fragile, that the point of no return has not yet been reached and that there are still obstacles to be overcome. The Mission sent by the Security Council to the Great Lakes region had concluded that the momentum gained could easily be lost and that therefore every effort needed to be made to maintain the dynamic of peace and to make it irreversible. Indeed, the primary responsibility in that respect lies with the parties themselves. They must abide by their commitments under the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, the Kampala plan and the Harare sub-plans on the disengagement and redeployment of forces and to comply with the resolutions of the Security Council.

We must therefore call once again on the parties to finalize and implement the plans for the orderly withdrawal of all of the foreign forces from the

territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as the plans for the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement of armed groups.

The Council has been concerned in recent days by the lack of cooperation on the part of the Rassemblement Congolais pour la démocratie (RCD) with MONUC. We call upon the RCD once again to make the necessary efforts and fully to cooperate with MONUC.

Furthermore, we would recall the need for the urgent demilitarization of the town of Kisangani, as required by the Security Council in its resolution 1304 (2000). As has been repeatedly stressed, including during the discussions between the Security Council mission and the parties, Kisangani has a symbolic value.

While the responsibility for the consolidation of progress in the peace process lies primarily with the parties themselves, the United Nations and in particular the Security Council also have an important role to play in assisting and encouraging the parties to move forward and also in continuing to support the efforts of MONUC.

The information we have received on the resumption of the activities of armed groups in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is a source of deep concern and requires particular attention. We are pleased with the results of the meeting that took place, in parallel with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Summit at Lusaka, between Presidents Kabila and Kagame, at the initiative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, and we encourage the continuation of this dialogue. We believe that the outcome of that meeting requires urgent follow-up as well as the joint efforts of all of the actors involved.

The process of the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement of armed groups is among the most important elements of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, and the achievement of peace and security in the subregion is strongly contingent upon it. We must seize the opportunity that presents itself today. MONUC must therefore have the necessary resources at its disposal to fully play the role that is expected of it.

Another important element of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement is the inter-Congolese dialogue. We appreciate the efforts made by Mr. Masire and his colleagues, and we hope that the dialogue will begin as soon as possible and in the best possible conditions, which will allow the Congolese people to devote themselves to the future of their country without any foreign interference.

The humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, particularly in the eastern part of the country, remains a source of deep concern and requires massive aid on the part of the international community. In this regard, we welcome the considerable efforts made by humanitarian agencies, in cooperation with MONUC, to relieve the suffering of the people affected, and we call upon all of the parties to facilitate and to support those efforts.

The Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth in the Democratic Republic of the Congo will continue its investigations in order to submit an annex to its report, as requested by the Security Council. In this connection, we recall the importance of putting an end to the illegal exploitation of the natural resources and other forms of wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and we call upon all parties concerned to fully cooperate with the Panel of Experts.

The Security Council mission to the Great Lakes region had noted a strong desire on the part of the Congolese people to bring about peace and national reconciliation, and to achieve development. The international community is called upon to assist them, inter alia, through initiatives accompanying the return of peace, including support for the country's economic recovery. We believe also that the United Nations must begin to prepare for the reconstruction phase, which would be a manifestation of the peace dividend for the Congolese people.

It has long been stressed that the close links among the problems afflicting the Great Lakes region demand a comprehensive regional conception of peace and security. Here, the convening, under United Nations and Organization of African Unity auspices, of an international conference on peace, security and development in the Great Lakes region could help lay the foundation for peaceful coexistence, good-neighbourliness, cooperation and development in the interests of all the peoples of the region.

In this period of transition between the second and third phases of MONUC deployment, there have been some positive developments, which we must support. During the third phase, MONUC will have to shoulder important new duties and, to do this, will need substantial resources.

We expect the withdrawal of foreign forces from the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to be effective, rapid and complete; that would make it possible to restore the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We also expect the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement of armed groups to take place without delay.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo is a vast country with enormous potential. Its present problems can be overcome with continued political will among the Congolese themselves and among their neighbours. The international community can provide very effective assistance. My country, which participated in United Nations peacekeeping efforts in the Congo a generation ago, is today contributing to MONUC with a guard unit and with military observers, who are there to help the parties achieve peace.

We hope that the dialogue that has begun among the heads of State of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Uganda will continue and develop, to make it possible to speed the implementation of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement and to promote peace, security, stability and cooperation in the region. The advent of peace and of a solution to the problems of the Democratic Republic of the Congo will be a positive turning point for the entire continent of Africa.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): Bangladesh appreciates the presence, and the statement, of the Secretary-General at this important meeting on the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We believe that his contacts with the leaders of the region advance the cause of peace.

We also appreciate the briefing by Ambassador Kamel Morjane. Looking back at the situation as it existed a year ago, one must recognize the progress that has been made. The challenge now before us on the Democratic Republic of the Congo is to see how we can give the peace process momentum and real substance.

Over the past two years, the Security Council and its members have made considerable efforts to resolve the conflict. The Council held several high-level meetings, including meetings with the leaders of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and of other countries of the region. Serious efforts have been made to facilitate dialogue and understanding among them. In addition, the Council sent two missions to the Great Lakes region in the course of about a year. The United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) was authorized in February 2000, and the Council remains committed to supporting the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement.

All those efforts have not been in vain. The parties have remained committed to the Lusaka Agreement — of course, realizing the Council's strong support for that agreement. They signed the Kampala disengagement plan and the Harare sub-plans. The ceasefire has been holding for several months now. The leaders have also met bilaterally and have talked. The basic problems over the inter-Congolese dialogue have been resolved.

But difficulties remain. As Ambassador Morjane just said, there is always a temptation to live with the status quo.

In our view, three factors are key to moving the peace process ahead: disengagement and withdrawal; the inter-Congolese dialogue; and expansion of MONUC.

First, on disengagement and withdrawal, MONUC continues to face difficulties in deploying and in carrying out its mission. The disengagement and withdrawal process that would demonstrate real progress in the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement has not advanced. The Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD), which is required to withdraw from Kisangani under a Chapter-VII resolution of the Council, resolution 1304 (2000), has not done so. The rebel movement has yet to comply with the demand of the Council. The demilitarization of Kisangani could allow the reconstruction of that ravaged city and provide the necessary rehabilitation of its inhabitants. It could provide a context for initiating the inter-Congolese dialogue. In Equateur province, the Front de libération du Congo (FLC) has yet to demonstrate understanding and cede administration to

the Government as per the Kampala disengagement plan.

Secondly, on the inter-Congolese dialogue, the early commencement of such a dialogue is of crucial importance for engaging the parties in the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement. We note that the facilitator has had to postpone the preparatory meeting to 20 August, apparently for technical reasons. We hope that arrangements are being made for holding that meeting on the new date. The dialogue must start as soon as possible. It must be open, representative and inclusive. It must be free from any outside interference. It should allow full participation by Congolese civil society.

Thirdly, with respect to the expansion of MONUC, it has long been argued by the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and by its allies that the size of MONUC does not correspond to what the situation demands. The Secretary-General, in his last report, said that at that stage he was not asking for an enlargement of MONUC beyond the authorized strength. At a new stage that may occur when the parties have made progress in disengagement and withdrawal, we shall have to consider the expansion of MONUC.

We stress that the Council must make a clear commitment in line with its policy to consider expanding the size of MONUC so that the Mission can carry out the tasks assigned to it as well additional tasks it should assume. There is a practical need for the Council to demonstrate a credible presence, determination and commitment in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The parties are perhaps not taking seriously the will and capacity of the United Nations. We have seen in Sierra Leone the difference that a credible United Nations presence can make.

Ambassador Morjane has indicated that MONUC would have to deploy at least two battalions of troops to secure Kisangani following the eventual withdrawal of the RCD. That would not leave enough troops for MONUC to deploy to other parts of the country.

I wonder if the Council can, with due regard to the reality on the ground and with respect for its own relevant resolutions, continue to say that MONUC cannot provide security to civilians. I am referring, of course, to resolutions 1265 (1999) and 1296 (2000). In that connection, we welcome the initiatives of the Secretary-General in following up those resolutions, including through closer cooperation and joint strategic planning between the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, as described in his letter dated 16 July 2001 (S/2001/712).

Entry into the third phase should not be delayed. It should not be delayed by Council. It should not be delayed because of a lack of preparedness. We have to put constant pressure on the parties to live up to their commitments. At the same time, as the Security Council, we have to demonstrate our commitment to support full implementation of the Lusaka Agreement.

The Secretary-General, in his seventh report, outlined the needs for a third phase. In his eighth report, he makes reference to that. As we said at our last meeting on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, preparedness is of crucial importance. Let us not be caught by surprise. The Democratic Republic of the Congo is an enormous country, with 16 million people affected by the war; the challenges of peacekeeping and peace-building will be enormous.

Let me conclude by paying a very warm and high tribute to Ambassador Kamel Morjane, who, as Special Representative of the Secretary-General, has rendered a tremendous service in support of the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and pursued the mandate of the Council with determination and perseverance. He took over his responsibilities in the midst of conflict on all fronts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. As he leaves, the Democratic Republic of the Congo is now in a much better situation with a real prospect of peace. We would have wished him to continue, at least until definite progress is made in the implementation of the peace Agreement, but he has to move on. I wish him well in his new assignment with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. We look forward to our future interaction with him and, personally, it will be my pleasure to keep in touch with my friend and brother.

Mr. Kassé (Mali) (*spoke in French*): I wish to thank you, Sir, for your initiative in convening this public information meeting on the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

I also wish to welcome the presence among us here today of the Secretary-General and to thank him for his important statement.

Allow me to pay a heartfelt tribute to Ambassador Kamel Morjane, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Thanks to his determination, wisdom and talent as an experienced diplomat, Ambassador Morjane has succeeded in creating what had seemed unthinkable at the outset: a climate of trust and cooperation between the United Nations and the authorities of all those involved in the highly complex conflict in the Congo. We thank Ambassador Morjane very warmly and, through him, the sisterly Republic of Tunisia for its diplomacy. Our best wishes for success in his new duties go to Ambassador Morjane.

Since the beginning of the year, we have considered with cautious optimism the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. My delegation remains optimistic and believes that, today more than ever, we need to move forward despite the serious difficulties that we continue to encounter in this process, in particular with regard to disengagement, the demilitarization of Kisangani and disarmament, demobilization, resettlement, reintegration and repatriation. Allow me to address each of these issues.

First, concerning the disengagement of forces, in particular in Equateur Province, we urge the Movement for the Liberation of the Congo to abide by its own commitments and to demonstrate understanding with regard to the civil administration of evacuated localities. Beyond disengagement, however, there is an imperative need for progress towards the total withdrawal of foreign forces from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and towards disarmament, demobilization, resettlement, reintegration and repatriation. For my delegation, the total withdrawal of foreign forces and disarmament, demobilization, resettlement, reintegration and repatriation must be the primary objectives for establishing lasting and definitive peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Secondly, with respect to the question of the demilitarization of the city of Kisangani — which is required by resolution 1304 (2000), adopted more than a year ago, under Chapter VII of the Charter — the Security Council should plan to take the measures necessary to put an end to that unacceptable and dangerous situation.

Moreover, we ask that the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) be strengthened in Kisangani, inter alia, by the despatch of two additional battalions. We would be equally in favour of any proposal designed to make Kisangani, once demilitarized, a symbolic city by allowing it, for example, to host the inter-Congolese dialogue and the headquarters of the Joint Military Commission.

Thirdly, with respect to disarmament, demobilization, resettlement, reintegration and repatriation, we welcome the recent meeting between Presidents Kabila and Kagame on this question. We feel that the encouraging results of that meeting should be supported by the United Nations. In this regard, we note with satisfaction that MONUC is currently working on a comprehensive plan on this issue, which indeed remains a genuine threat to the entire peace process in the region, for without disarmament, demobilization, resettlement, reintegration and repatriation there will be no withdrawal of foreign forces from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We therefore fully agree that MONUC should play a guiding and lead role in disarmament, demobilization, resettlement, reintegration and repatriation. We must be clear that the parties, despite their political will, can never achieve that alone. The United Nations and the donor community must actively contribute to that end.

I cannot conclude this overview without referring to the issue of the plundering of the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which has continued despite the Council's presidential statement of 3 May 2001. We note the new membership of the Panel of Experts on that question and await with interest the addendum to the report. In the meantime, we reaffirm our firm condemnation of the ongoing pillage of the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which, according to credible sources, is the principal reason for the continuation of the conflict and for serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

If we have refrained today from placing the inter-Congolese dialogue among the current difficulties, it is simply because we consider the report of the 9 July meeting to be of a purely technical nature. We nevertheless reiterate our urgent appeal to all of the parties to do their utmost to ensure that the meeting of 20 August is a true success in order to permit the

launching of the inter-Congolese dialogue, which remains the other key to the settlement.

In conclusion, I have to say that we must prepare, here and now and without procrastination, for the third phase of the expansion of MONUC, which has been urgently requested by the Political Committee of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. In this regard, as recalled by the Ambassador of Bangladesh, we all witnessed the difference that was made by the expansion of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone on that ground in that country.

Finally, I recall once again that any peace process must be accompanied by economic assistance. In that context, we welcome the launching of the economic dimension of MONUC with the resumption of navigation on the Congo River. We reiterate the appeal made to the donor community for local projects of rapid impact to be established so as to improve the daily lives of thousands of Congolese, who have suffered too much the pains of a war that, after all, is not their own.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I thank you, Sir, for convening this open meeting with Ambassador Kamel Morjane, allowing him to inform all delegations about the work being undertaken by the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC). I also note the participation and presence of the Secretary-General and the appeal he made in his opening statement.

We thank Ambassador Morjane for his extensive and, as always, lucid briefing and wish him great success in his new post, in which he will be able to continue providing valuable services to the peoples of Africa and other continents.

Establishing peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is the primary task of the Congolese people themselves. It is they who must restore coexistence among themselves and with their neighbours. Nevertheless, the countries of the region have called for the presence of the United Nations to help them overcome the deep difficulties and interests that separate them. This task falls primarily to MONUC.

The presence of Kamel Morjane in the field has been a positive factor in the success of the Mission. However, the most difficult decisions for us in the Council have, perhaps, yet to come, in particular in facing the dilemmas of the third phase of deployment. Following the cessation of hostilities and the separation of forces, the conflict seems to have focused its destructive capacities and greatest dangers to the population on the eastern provinces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Thus, having listened to the statement of the head of the United Nations Mission at this meeting, I wish to refer to four aspects that, as we all know, are of special relevance.

First of all, concerning the demilitarization of Kisangani, it is true that the phase of the separation of forces, which began in April, must be concluded as soon as possible. We insist, as other delegations have done in different circumstances, on the complete demilitarization of the city of Kisangani and its environs. This is a commitment that the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD) has shown it is willing to fulfil, and we hope that it does so without further delay. It is also a measure that will greatly contribute to alleviating the suffering of the population in the area and to restoring trust. We hope that this city will become a symbol of peace, located, as it is, in the heart of the country, and, if the Congolese themselves so decide, that it can be the seat of the national dialogue, the first preparatory meeting for which will take place on 20 August in the capital of Botswana.

The second item that I would like to mention is that of navigation on the Congo River. My delegation would like to highlight the presence of MONUC all along the Congo River. We welcome the safe arrival in Kisangani of the Uruguayan river unit, which has given rise to the expectation, after three years of intense war, that civil navigation along the river can be re-established and the economy of the riparian populations reactivated. The operation "peace boat", which is soon to set out from Kinshasa, will provide food and supplies to many people who live along the banks of the river and will provide important support for the humanitarian actions in the area. In this connection, we would like to ask Ambassador Morjane about the progress in the initiative to set up a commission for the administration of the Congo River basin, made up of representatives of parties to the conflict, the United Nations agencies in the field and neighbouring countries that will use this waterway.

The third aspect is the activity of the irregular forces in the east. Here we would like to draw attention to and condemn the serious violations of human rights

and international humanitarian law that have taken place persistently and with impunity in the eastern provinces of the Congo. We have been thus informed, for example, in a recent and very useful meeting under the Arria formula. The authorities of Kinshasa and the countries associated with the conflict must refrain from providing support, training and shelter to the irregular forces that operate in this region, including the Mayi-Mayi militias, and must provide MONUC with the information that they possess on their number and location. This is the procedure that was agreed upon to begin a reliable process of disarmament, demobilization, reintegration resettlement or repatriation of the so-called negative forces. Negligence or delay in responding to these concerns must be considered a serious obstacle on the road to peace. We would like Ambassador Morjane to describe the level of cooperation that the Mission has received in this respect.

Fourthly, as for the humanitarian situation, my delegation would like to respond to the concern that prevails among humanitarian organizations as a result of the current situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo. We would like to add our voice to the urgent call of the donors that was made in Geneva on 13 July by the heads of the four most important humanitarian assistance agencies of the United Nations system: the Office for the Coordinator of Humanitarian Affairs, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Children's Fund and the World Food Programme (WFP). Stable and adequate contributions and ease of access to the populations in need are the two most urgent elements at the present time. We praise with great appreciation and admiration the relief workers who, even in the very hostile environment that prevails in many provinces of the Congo, persevere in their humanitarian efforts. We cannot abandon them at this time.

Mr. Ryan (Ireland): We, too, are particularly pleased to welcome the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Kamel Morjane, to the Council today. We join our colleagues in paying tribute to Ambassador Morjane's unstinting and courageous work and his outstanding leadership over the past 20 months. When Ambassador Morjane commenced his work, we could not easily have anticipated that we would have reached the current stage of guarded optimism. We wish him every success in his new challenge.

We welcome the presence here today of Secretary-General Annan, who has invested so much in promoting peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo, including most recently, and directly, with some of the principal players in the process — the heads of State of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda and Rwanda. As mentioned by Ambassador Levitte, Belgium, as Presidency of the European Union, will make a statement later in today's debate. Ireland subscribes fully to the position of the European Union, and I make the following points in my national capacity.

While recent events had given grounds for a measure of optimism, the military situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo has not yet reached the positive point of no return. It is clear that on a number of fronts there has been tangible progress. However, the potential for a relapse into violence remains. In the period ahead we must continue, as a Council, to maintain the clear signal to all the parties of our determination to protect, to sustain and to develop further the achievements that have been secured thus far.

That said, it remains the case that the future security and prosperity of the Democratic Republic of Congo and the wider region rest with the signatories of the Lusaka Agreement. Only they have the central capacity to implement the Agreement.

When the Council mission returned from the Great Lakes region two months ago there was reasonable optimism that the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo was moving in the right direction. That is still the case, but there is some concern at the slow pace and uneven nature of that progress. Quite frankly, more needs to be done, and forward movement maintained.

In particular, the parties must meet their obligation to bring forward and implement plans for the orderly withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Congo. Support for the activities of armed groups must be brought to an end. The Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD-Goma) must comply with the Security Council's demand for the demilitarization of Kisangani. All Congolese forces, including the Forces armées congolaises must be deployed within accepted disengagement lines.

The parties must take the necessary steps to enable the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration

and repatriation or resettlement of armed groups, with the assistance of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) and the international community. The parties must ensure respect for human rights and uphold the provisions of international humanitarian law. Every assistance must be given to Sir Ketumile Masire and his team in their efforts to launch the inter-Congolese dialogue. It is crucial that this process should not be allowed to falter and that there should be no further delay in the holding of preparatory consultations.

If the goodwill and commitment of the parties is forthcoming the Council, MONUC and the wider international community are, of course, ready to assist. Ireland has put on record in the Council our desire to see a joined-up approach in the United Nations, at Headquarters and in the field, and our belief that an entry point for the development dimension must be ensured at all levels.

In that regard, it is disappointing that obstacles have been put in the way of the United Nations efforts to nominate the Humanitarian Coordinator. We welcome the activity of MONUC in implementing quick-impact projects, which assist the peace process by helping address the basic needs of the people. It is hoped that such activity can pave the way for larger developmental activity that can take place in conditions of peace, with the support of foreign investment.

The revival of Congolese national life will require tolerance and reconciliation. But justice, too, will be required. As mentioned earlier by the Secretary-General, members of the Council had the opportunity last week to hear from members of non-governmental organizations, who related to us their experiences of what they have witnessed on the ground. What they told us confirmed what we have been hearing for a long time. And yet, such is the extent of the humanitarian suffering in the Democratic Republic of the Congo that what they told us what deeply shocking. It is not enough for the various armed forces to observe the demands to cease military activity. They must also respect international humanitarian standards and allow safe, unhindered and unconditional access by humanitarian agencies to those in need. This message must be sent in the strongest terms to armed groups themselves and their sponsors. Those that have committed war crimes and crimes against humanity must be held accountable for their wrongs.

In closing, let me pay tribute to the excellent work carried out under Ambassador Morjane, by the staff of MONUC and by the United Nations agencies on the ground. I said earlier that 20 months ago, when Ambassador Morjane took up his post, we could not have easily anticipated that we would reach the current stage of guarded optimism. We must not allow the impetus that has been built up to dissipate. We will continue to work together with a strong sense of purpose, but also of urgency to carry out this work.

Mr. Koonjul (Mauritius): I thank you, Mr. President, for convening this open briefing on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, an issue to which we attach great importance. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his presence today and for his intervention. I also thank Ambassador Kamel Morjane, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his comprehensive briefing. We join previous speakers in paying tribute to him, and we commend him for the excellent work he has accomplished as head of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC).

We note that the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has generally remained calm and that the Ceasefire Agreement continues to be respected. There is overall progress in the implementation of the plans and sub-plans for disengagement and redeployment. All of these positive developments are encouraging signs that the parties to the conflict are determined to take the peace process forward. However, we should not be complacent, because the peace process is still fragile and can easily and abruptly turn around, with tremendous consequences.

The contribution that the inter-Congolese dialogue will make in bringing peace to the Democratic Republic of the Congo cannot be undermined. We attach particular importance to the success of this dialogue. We commend former President Masire, the facilitator of the inter-Congolese dialogue, for his efforts to convene the preparatory meeting. We stress the need to ensure that the preparatory meeting scheduled for 20 August takes place without hindrance. Indeed, we are receiving reports that the democratic spirit among the ordinary Congolese is very much alive and that both the Congolese and the facilitator are on

the right path for peace. We must take advantage of this positive development. We call on all the parties to participate in the dialogue, which can be successful only with the full and free participation of civil society.

However, we are concerned about reports of an upsurge of violence in the two Kivus over the last few weeks. We make a strong appeal to all the parties concerned to refrain from acts of violence and to honour their commitment under the Lusaka Agreement, which remains the most viable solution to the conflict. Likewise, the eastward movement of armed rebel groups and the alleged incursions of negative forces into Rwanda and Burundi are disturbing elements. These events are clear indications that we can no longer delay the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation or resettlement (DDRRR) process. At the same time, we believe that in order to address the regional dimension of the conflict, it would be important to facilitate many bilateral and multilateral meetings among all the parties concerned. In this context, we welcome the recent meeting between President Kagame and President Kabila in the presence of the Secretary-General, on the margins of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Summit in Lusaka, as well as the meeting President Kabila held with President Museveni. Such bilateral meetings can go a long way towards confidence-building.

The continued reluctance of the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD) to demilitarize Kisangani, in spite of repeated calls by the Security Council, cannot be tolerated. It is also totally unacceptable that the personnel of MONUC should face obstructions and harassment by RCD elements in the performance of their work. We strongly condemn such uncooperative attitudes, and we appeal to all those concerned to allow MONUC to carry out its mandate without any hindrance.

MONUC, under the guidance of Ambassador Morjane, is doing a commendable job and has had a positive impact on the peace process. It is now known that the mere presence or even the announcement of the arrival of MONUC in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo is a compelling force that the Congolese people respond to with great hope and enthusiasm. This is the time when the inter-Congolese dialogue needs to make every effort to accompany the Congolese people in their struggle for peace and stability.

We consider the present size of MONUC to be inadequate given the task that lies ahead. We also note that MONUC is not yet fully deployed at the level authorized by resolution 1291 (2000). No hesitation on our part to make the extra effort should be allowed to compromise the peace process in any manner. We wish to emphasize the call made recently by the OAU Summit in Lusaka, appealing to the Security Council, when designing and planning the third phase of the deployment of MONUC, to take into account the need to guarantee the stability and security of the Democratic Republic of the Congo after the withdrawal of foreign troops.

We deplore the fact that full operational information on the actual positions of parties signatories to the Lusaka Agreement have not yet been provided to MONUC. We call upon the parties concerned to convey these details without any further delay for verification by MONUC, so that the next phase of DDRRR can be planned accordingly.

The DDRRR programme alone will not be able to resolve the problem of violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The programme needs to be accompanied by proper economic assistance in order to have sustainable peace and development. In fact, we should already start thinking about the post-conflict stage, when a comprehensive programme of action should be undertaken to address the various problems of the country, in particular the issue of the rehabilitation and reintegration of child soldiers. In this respect, we make an appeal to the international donor community, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, to assist the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in its economic recovery. We also look forward to the recommendations of the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of the Natural Resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Panel is expected to deliver an addendum to its first report. Meanwhile, we reiterate that the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo belong to the people of that country alone, and we condemn all illegal exploitation.

The humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the region remains another area of serious concern. While we appeal to the international community to assist in ameliorating the situation, we also call on all parties to guarantee humanitarian agencies secure and unimpeded access.

Before concluding, my delegation wishes once again to commend Ambassador Morjane for the excellent work he has done in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. He carried his work out with full dedication over the last 20 months. We wish him every the success in his new assignment.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore): It is no secret that the file on the Democratic Republic of the Congo is one of the more difficult files the Security Council has to deal with. Indeed, if we had received more bad news than good news today, we would not have been surprised. However, as Ambassador Morjane said earlier this morning, the prospects for peace have never been as good as they are today. Of course, we need to find out the reasons for this. The reasons are complex, but one of the reasons is clearly evident before us in the form of Ambassador Kamel Morjane.

There is of course an age-old debate about whether history is moved by larger forces or by the actions of individuals. Certainly, the answer is a combination of both. But in some cases, the contributions of individuals do matter, and certainly so in the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. There is no doubt that Ambassador Kamel Morjane has made a huge difference personally.

In this regard, I want to mention that in addition to the legendary diplomatic skills that he has, which most Tunisian diplomats seem to have — I think it is part of the genetic code of being a Tunisian — what we found quite remarkable when we visited the Democratic Republic of the Congo was the tremendous managerial skills that Ambassador Morjane showed in the management of the huge and complex operation in the Congo. We could certainly see with our own eyes that the sheer presence of United Nations personnel made a huge difference in the chemistry of the region. All this was carefully and well done by Ambassador Morjane and his staff. We are glad that we are here to join in the tribute being paid to him.

But also, as many speakers have noted, the peace process remains fragile and reversible. In trying to find an appropriate analogy for where we stand in the peace process of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, we thought perhaps it could be compared to a cracked boulder being pushed uphill with great effort and which still remains far from the peak. The real danger exists of this cracked boulder sliding back downhill.

Given the situation, we see three main challenges. The first challenge is to prevent any backsliding in the peace process. A second challenge is to demonstrate that we have the will and the resources for the long slog uphill. The third, and the more difficult long-term challenge, is to see what we do when we discover at the top a huge plateau where we need to build a durable peace in the Congo and in the region.

To be completely honest, our answers on how to deal with these challenges, unfortunately, will not be new. We will probably repeat points we have made before, and indeed probably repeat points that have actually been made earlier in the discussion this morning. Perhaps some day when the Security Council goes truly high-tech and we have in front of us a screen that prints out the text of what every speaker is saying, we can probably have a button to indicate that we agree with the points being made, and that might save us a lot of time in this debate. But in the absence of this high-tech equipment, we will try to put across our points in brief, summary form.

As we said, the first challenge is to prevent the peace process from sliding backwards. How do we do it? First, clearly the Council must continue to keep the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo under close review. In this regard, we want to say that today's debate is actually a useful contribution. From time to time we wonder whether these open debates have any impact on the situation, but for a delicate problem like the Democratic Republic of the Congo, it does help to put the spotlight on the issue from time to time, and so here, Mr. President, we commend you for organizing this debate at this time.

Secondly, of course, the relations between the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its neighbours must continue to improve. I think that we are also pleased to learn that there was a good meeting between the Presidents of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Rwanda, and we are also pleased that the Secretary-General, as several other speakers have commented earlier, made a valuable contribution in helping arrange good meetings on these issues.

Thirdly, clearly — and this is a point that several speakers have highlighted — Kisangani and its environs must be demilitarized completely and without further delay. It is unfortunate that the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD) continues to

maintain several thousand troops in the vicinity. This is in direct violation of resolution 1304 (2000), adopted by the Council more than a year ago. Clearly, this is unacceptable. If you want to judge in terms of whether we are moving forward or backward, clearly Kisangani holds important symbolic significance, and we must show that we are moving forward in that area.

Fourthly, we must also show that all the parties have a clear understanding of the division of responsibilities in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. As several speakers again have noted that MONUC's mandate does not permit it to assume responsibility for the safety of civilians, clearly the Congolese parties must realize that they are responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the safety and security of civilians under their de facto control.

The second challenge, as you said, Mr. President, is to show that we have a commitment to keep going uphill. In this regard, it is useful to bear in mind that in any peace process there are essentially two parts. Part one is the role and the contribution of the parties on the ground — the Congolese parties, the neighbours, and so forth. Part two is the role and the contribution of the international community at large. Both parts have to work together to ensure that the process of the Democratic Republic of the Congo works well. Frankly, our actions both in the Council and elsewhere, can send valuable signals. I was going to say, for example, even though the Secretary-General has now left, that his personal presence for much of this debate I think sent a very important signal of the importance of this issue.

Similarly, we are pleased to learn that during Belgium's Presidency of the European Union for the next six months, greater priority will be given to the issue of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Of course, the decision that we take on when we will move to phase III will itself be a very important signal of our commitment to the process. Here, of course, we would like to support the point made by the Ambassador of Bangladesh. We would say that one way of expediting the move to phase III is for the parties concerned to also show a greater commitment to the process; and certainly, as the Ambassador of Mauritius highlighted, we have to show greater commitment to what is called the process of disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and resettlement or repatriation (DDRRR). In that sense, the international community and the parties can work together.

Finally, the last challenge is to ensure that we build long-term peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Again, let me confess that we have no new ideas to suggest for this long-term peace, but we would like to endorse at least three ideas put across in this debate so far.

The first is, of course, the importance of the inter-Congolese dialogue. Everyone has stressed it. We support it. Certainly, we commend President Masire for his efforts; but as President Masire told us when he met the Security Council mission, he hopes that the international community will show its commitment to the inter-Congolese dialogue by also showing that it will come forth with resources to help the operation.

Secondly, clearly we need to continue to pay attention to the illegal exploitation of the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The Panel has done some good work. We hope, when the final report comes out, that we will pay even greater attention to the issue.

Thirdly, we think that preparations should also begin soon for a conference on the Great Lakes to push the peace process forward and to try to suggest long-term solutions to all the interrelated crises in the region. In this regard, we wonder whether the time may have come to also send to the Great Lakes an inter-agency mission similar to the one we dispatched to West Africa under Assistant Secretary-General Ibrahima Fall. Here we would, of course, defer to the judgement of the Secretariat on this. But we do believe a coordinated approach involving the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Great Lakes region is important for ensuring the long-term peace of the region.

Mr. Granovsky (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We associate ourselves with the words of gratitude addressed to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative for their important statements.

The situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo evokes mixed feelings on our part. Unquestionably, it is gratifying that the parties are continuing to comply with the ceasefire regime. Progress is evident in the implementation of plans for the disengagement of the opposing forces. Some of the foreign forces have left the Democratic Republic of the

Congo. Preparations are under way for the beginning of the inter-Congolese dialogue.

Of course, not everything is as smooth as we would like. In particular, we are concerned about delays in the withdrawal to agreed positions of the forces of the Mouvement pour la libération du Congo (MLC) in Equateur Province and the unacceptable attempts by the leadership of that movement to condition the implementation of the plan for the disengagement of forces on political demands. But, I reiterate, on the whole we are satisfied with the course of the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement, which, in our view, has acquired a definite positive dynamic. We place particular hope here on the dialogue that has begun between the leaders of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and neighbouring States on the problem of ensuring mutual security. We support this process and wish it every success.

It is specifically with this process that we link the prospects for a solution to the problems of disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and resettlement or repatriation of members of armed groups, whose actions are increasingly becoming a serious destabilizing factor and thereby jeopardizing the ceasefire.

While Russia is in favour of the strictest compliance by all parties to the Lusaka Agreement with the demand for the cessation of support for armed groups, it emphasizes the need for all issues within the framework of the process of disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and resettlement or repatriation to be resolved solely on a voluntary basis. Within the framework of the existing mandate and to the extent of its ability, the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) will assist in this process.

Russia also supports the holding of consultations with the leadership of international monetary and financial institutions, with a view to securing funds for the resolution of questions linked to disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We believe that, in the long term, success in this area directly depends on the easing of ethnic tensions and on the democratization of political life in all countries of the Great Lakes region.

I should now like to comment on the issue of greatest concern to us in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. More than a year after the adoption of Security Council resolution 1304 (2000), containing a demand for the demilitarization of the city of Kisangani — which was then reaffirmed in Security Council resolution 1355 (2001) — the leadership of the Rassemblement Congolais pour la démocratie (RCD) is stubbornly refusing to implement it. Moreover, the leaders of the RCD have chosen a course of active resistance to the implementation by MONUC of its mandate in that city, which, due to a number of factors, is of key significance to the entire peacekeeping operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In our view, this situation is absolutely unacceptable. It represents an open challenge to the Security Council and to the entire international community. We believe that the situation has reached a point at which the Security Council, in accordance with the provisions of the resolutions previously adopted, must consider additional measures in order to ensure the demilitarization of the city of Kisangani. We believe that the first step in this direction could be a ban on the issuance by Member States of entry visas to the leadership of the RCD. Russia is ready to discuss other measures as well.

While reaffirming our support for MONUC and our readiness to consider, in a constructive manner, the recommendations of the Secretary-General for its further development, we would like once again to emphasize that, for us, the decisive factor in this issue is the consistent demonstration by the parties to the conflict themselves of political will for its peaceful settlement. We call on them to carry out in good faith their obligations under the Lusaka Agreement and subsequent agreements and in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

In conclusion, allow me to express our gratitude to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mr. Morjane, who is leaving his post, for his outstanding contribution to the cause of a settlement of the conflict in the Congo. Under his leadership, a breakthrough has been achieved in the quest for peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where the logic of the search for agreement has replaced the logic of war. Although he is leaving his post at a time when his efforts are only just beginning to bear fruit, we have no doubt that his successor and his colleagues in MONUC will successfully conclude the work he has begun. Allow

me, on behalf of the Russian delegation, to wish him great success in his future work.

Mr. Cunningham (United States of America): I, too, wish to second the warm comments made by my colleagues around the table about Ambassador Morjane. I will not repeat them, but I do want to pay tribute to the outstanding work of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) under his leadership, which has helped the Democratic Republic of the Congo find a chance for peace. He has my country's gratitude and appreciation for his service and best wishes for his future.

My Government fully subscribes to the presidential statement that will be issued at the conclusion of today's meeting, but, as we look to the future, we also thought it would be useful to review briefly the key issues that are still before us in the peace process.

The demilitarization of Kisangani is a demand of the Security Council, as others have noted, and the Council expects this to be accomplished. We do not accept the argument of the RCD-Goma that the military presence is necessary to secure the human rights of citizens there. Moreover, we have serious concerns about the RCD-Goma's own human rights record in the areas under its control.

Under the disengagement sub-plans, the RCD-Goma would maintain administrative control of Kisangani pending the establishment of new national institutions. We understand and accept that a demilitarized Kisangani would require a strengthened MONUC contingent, and we continue to subscribe to the conclusions and recommendations of the Security Council mission in this regard.

While MONUC cannot assume the burden of administering Kisangani, it can work with local authorities to provide support and assistance. The first step is an RCD-Goma acceptance of the principle of a demilitarized Kisangani. Once that is forthcoming, we will look to the Political Committee and the Joint Military Commission (JMC), in consultation with MONUC, for ideas on the nature of civilian administration in the area.

For all the talk of disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and resettlement or repatriation of the former Rwandan Army forces (ex-FAR), Interahamwe and other negative forces, there has not been enough progress. We note recent reports that some members of those groups have been brought into camps within the territory under the control of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and we hope that MONUC will act quickly on the Government's offer to allow visits to those sites.

I wish also to underscore the importance of including representatives from United Nations humanitarian agencies to ensure the proper focus on reintegration and resettlement issues.

But the first step of a disarmament process is the cessation of arming, something that, unfortunately, has yet to materialize. As long as negative forces such as the ex-FAR, Interahamwe and the Mayi-Mayi are being armed by the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and some of its allies, there will be no disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and resettlement, and, we believe, no solution to the Great Lakes crisis. We therefore call on the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo immediately to cease support, be it through arms, training, money or other forms of assistance, to all such forces.

We are pleased to note that regional leaders, including Presidents Kabila and Kagame, whom we view as the critical players on this issue, continue to meet. It should be obvious to all that the Governments of Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo have common security interests that can also be addressed through a policy of cooperation and dialogue.

The lack of progress on disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and resettlement is one of the reasons we have not seen broader progress on peace in the region. The remedy is not for the United Nations to assume a greater role; the remedy is for the parties to recognize their common interests and to make this a reality.

As in all other areas of the peace process, the role of the United Nations in disarmament and reintegration will expand or contract in direct proportion to the quality of political will displayed by the parties. If the United Nations is to assist the parties in this area, the JMC must produce a credible plan that reflects an unambiguous regional commitment to address the issue. This should be done immediately.

We are troubled at the failure of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to accept the appointment of the new United Nations humanitarian coordinator. The individual nominated by the Secretariat is an outstanding candidate, and we urge the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to revise its position. The lack of a humanitarian coordinator makes it even harder to raise the money needed to meet the humanitarian needs of the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the appointment will facilitate a more effective response to the growing humanitarian crisis.

In that connection, I also want to emphasize the need for the relevant parties to carry through with their investigation of the murder of six personnel of the International Committee of the Red Cross in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, and to bring the guilty to justice.

The exploitation of the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo continues to benefit warlords, arms producers and corrupt officials. Clearly, that practice must halt. The natural resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo are the patrimony of the Congolese nation, and we are concerned when those resources are not used to advance the welfare of the Congolese people. We are glad to see that the Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo has resumed work on this important issue, and we look forward to the addendum to its original report.

For there to be peace in the region, three things, at a minimum, must happen: all foreign forces must withdraw from the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo; the inter-Congolese dialogue must begin the process of giving the Congolese people their first accountable Government; and the long-standing practice of regional governments entering into alliances with non-State actors must end. Good governance, democratic accountability and security are fundamental requirements for regional peace. If a Great Lakes conference dedicated to those issues can advance those goals, then perhaps the time has come to take that long-standing proposal off the back burner and see if it can help improve the lives of the people of the region.

Mr. Kolby (Norway): My delegation too would like to join in the tributes paid to Ambassador Kamel Morjane; I wish him well in his important new post.

My delegation welcomes this open briefing, as it is an opportune occasion to take stock at a crucial moment in the peace process and to hear the views of other Members of the United Nations. The challenges we face in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are enormous and complex, and they continue to pose a threat to regional stability. In our view, that makes it all the more important for the Security Council to seek broad guidance and support for its continued handling of the situation.

We all agree that the only viable solution to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is through a political settlement. The continuation of warfare will only cause even deeper wounds on a population already heavily marked by the crisis and will drive the country further into chaos and devastation. Although we have recently seen some positive signs in terms of implementation of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, we remain concerned about the slow speed with which the parties are honouring key committments, as well as about the appalling humanitarian situation in the country.

While we welcome the progress that has been made so far in the disengagement of forces, we remain deeply concerned at reports indicating that the demilitarization process is behind schedule and that Government as well as rebel troops are still holding positions which according to the Agreement should have been abandoned. That is unacceptable, and it threatens to undermine the entire peace process. In that regard we appeal in particular to the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD) to take swift action to withdraw its troops and in that way to contribute to the full demilitarization of Kisangani.

Moreover, the full withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo also needs to be addressed without further delay. In that context we urge all parties to contribute fully to the preparation and implementation of the process of disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement. Appropriate measures in that regard constitute fundamental criteria for a lasting peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the region as a whole. For that reason, resolution 1355 (2001) authorized the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) to assist the parties in carrying out the process of disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement. However,

for MONUC to play a role here, the parties need to express their readiness to go ahead. We regret to note that such communications are in many cases overdue, and we therefore call on the parties to take swift action in that regard.

In the wake of the disengagement process there is a real danger that unarmed civilians, particularly in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, will fall victim to reprisals owing to their ethnic background or political affiliation. Also, among the armed groups to be demobilized there are large numbers of children who, following the demobilization process, will be particularly vulnerable. Norway therefore supports the call for the rapid deployment of human rights and child-protection officers as a means to address the plight of civilians and thereby contribute to the smooth implementation of the process of disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement.

The sustainability of the peace process depends heavily on the involvement and commitment by the various actors within the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The international community can contribute by means of peacekeeping and peace-building measures, but the road towards lasting peace must be paved by the Congolese themselves. The inter-Congolese dialogue constitutes a cornerstone in this process, as it clearly has the potential to reunite various groups and factions in the effort to restore peace, security and respect for human rights. We therefore join others in calling on all Congolese parties to the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement to cooperate fully with Sir Ketumile Masire in his continued efforts to move the process forward.

The success of the dialogue will be very much dependent on its accessibility and transparency. Full freedom to express opinions and beliefs is an absolute prerequisite in that regard. Recent reports of detention and intimidation of human rights defenders and civil society actors associated with the inter-Congolese dialogue are therefore troubling signs. This is unacceptable and is counterproductive to the peace agenda. We therefore call on the parties to refrain from preventing any group or individual from participating in the dialogue. We also urge the donor community to provide the necessary financial support to facilitate the different initiatives under the auspices of the dialogue.

As we make strong efforts to address the various technicalities of the peace agreement and the level to which the parties have honoured their commitments, it is easy to forget that, in this as in any other devastating conflict, it is the civilian population that pays the real costs. Recent reports relating to the humanitarian situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are indeed shocking and disturbing. According to humanitarian agencies, more than 1 million internally displaced persons in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are currently receiving no humanitarian assistance whatsoever. As members of the international community, we therefore need to continue and step up efforts aimed at meeting the desperate humanitarian needs. In that regard, we also reiterate our call to all parties concerned to immediately facilitate the safe and unhindered access of humanitarian agencies.

Another topic which requires urgent consideration in this context is the impunity prevailing in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. There can be no lasting peace without justice and accountability for the violations of human rights and international humanitarian law that occurred from the outset of the conflict. A failure to address that issue could seriously hinder reconciliation and could lead to further atrocities and conflict. An accurate, impartial and thorough investigation of the facts is needed. Secondly, appropriate and effective mechanisms to bring the alleged perpetrators to justice need to be considered.

Finally, let me reiterate Norway's full support for the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Miss Durrant (Jamaica): My delegation wishes to thank you, Mr. President, for organizing this meeting on the situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

We also wish to express our appreciation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and head of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), Ambassador Kamel Morjane, for his comprehensive briefing. Today's meeting allows the Council an opportunity to review developments since the establishment of MONUC.

A year ago, we were not as hopeful as we are today. Indeed, the prospects for peace were dim. The dynamics which have resulted from certain seminal events, including the successive meetings of the Security Council with the Political Committee — culminating in the recent visit by the Security Council

mission to the region — have all contributed to opening the window of opportunity that now prevails in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. However, as Ambassador Morjane has pointed out, we are not yet past the point of no return. The peace process remains fragile and it is now up to the parties themselves to take advantage of the opportunity presented to act decisively and to bring lasting peace to the region.

My delegation is cognizant of the regional dimension to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and of the need for regional solutions. We appreciate the need to satisfy the security concerns of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and of all the countries in the region. The recent Security Council mission to the region sharpened the focus of the parties to the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement on their respective responsibilities. The need for increased dialogue between the leaders of the States of the region was highlighted and we have already seen a significant increase in the dialogue, which is having a positive impact on the peace process.

The role of the Joint Military Commission (JMC) has also taken on increased importance. Co-location of the JMC with MONUC is necessary in order to further develop and coordinate the withdrawal plans of all foreign troops from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We believe that it is essential if the third phase of the deployment of MONUC is to be realized and if MONUC is to be enabled to carry out its assigned mandate.

The disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation or resettlement programme is perhaps the most important issue with respect to the region's security. It is one of the major challenges facing the Lusaka peace process and an effective strategy to deal with the so-called negative forces. In light of this, the recent invitation extended by the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to carry out an assessment of the requirements for the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation or resettlement of the 3,000-plus members of the so-called negative forces, now in the two camps, should be accepted. This assessment could lead to the implementation of an effective disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation or resettlement programme, with the assistance of the international community. Success with this group would be a catalyst for others to voluntarily join the programme.

My delegation supports the enhancement of MONUC's role to facilitate this process. Future political developments in Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda will significantly affect the future of the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation or resettlement programme. Those three countries have important roles in ensuring the success of such a programme.

The Security Council, in resolution 1341 (2001) of 22 February 2001, urged all parties to the conflict to cooperate with MONUC in preparing and implementing the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation or resettlement plans. Unfortunately, there are a number of recent, ominous reports that are very troubling. Not the least of these suggests that support for the armed groups, rather than being phased out, has intensified in recent weeks. It would appear that the sponsors of these groups are facilitating a build-up of these forces that would prolong their control of the territories they now occupy. Equally troubling is a report that suggests that they are supporting the forced recruitment of civilians, including children, for the military forces of the armed groups. This is absolutely deplorable and must be brought to an end immediately. In this regard, my delegation would like to hear from Mr. Morjane as to whether there has been any discernible compliance with resolution 1341 (2001).

Another factor affecting the peace process is the lack of freedom of movement. In this regard, we believe that the Congo and Ubangi Rivers must be opened to commercial traffic without further delay. This will require the full cooperation of the parties in control of the regions through which the rivers pass. The economic benefits are obvious to everyone, but it is also important to confidence-building and reconciliation among the protagonists.

Also of concern to my delegation are the reports of gross human rights abuses and violations of international humanitarian law throughout many areas of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, particularly in the eastern region. What is even more disturbing is that the perpetrators of these abuses show scant regard for the humanitarian needs of the civilians in areas under their control. Furthermore, the level of insecurity severely restricts the delivery of aid to relieve the suffering of the population in these areas. These abuses cannot go unpunished and the perpetrators must

understand that the international community is determined to put an end to impunity.

There are also reports from the region which indicate that illegal exploitation of the resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo has continued unabated and, in some areas, has actually increased. We emphasize the need for all parties to cooperate fully with the Panel of Experts. The Council must send a message that it is prepared to consider actions necessary to put an end to this exploitation. In this regard, we welcome the decision of the Government of Uganda to establish an inquiry into the conduct of its military and civilians in the illegal exploitation of these resources. It is important that this inquiry be carried out with utmost transparency.

My delegation wishes to recall that the Security Council demanded, in resolution 1304 (2000), that Kisangani be completely demilitarized. To a large extent, the success or failure of the peace process could rest on the demilitarization of Kisangani. We therefore call on the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD) in Goma to act in compliance with Security Council resolutions and we call on the supporters of the RCD-Goma to use their influence to bring about the demilitarization of Kisangani and full cooperation with MONUC and the Lusaka peace process.

As we have in the past, my delegation expresses our full support for the inter-Congolese dialogue under the facilitation of Sir Ketumile Masire. While we recognize the need for reconciliation at the level of the signatories to the Lusaka Agreement, it must also be recognized that members of civil society, particularly women, have an important role in the process. Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) aptly reaffirms the importance of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building. It also stresses the importance of measures that support women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of peace agreements.

We believe that lessons can be learned from experiences in other conflict-torn regions in which women have taken the lead in conflict resolution and reconciliation. One concrete success has been the holding of peace tables and we believe that one could be held, perhaps in Kisangani, in collaboration with the United Nations Development Fund for Women and the Division for the Advancement of Women. This could serve not only as an example, but also as a confidence-building measure.

As my delegation has indicated in the past and again today, we believe that the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo cannot be resolved without taking into consideration the security of its neighbours, particularly those to the East. We have also stated that, for there to be any prospect for long-term sustainable peace, an international conference on the Great Lakes region to address issues of long-term regional security, economic and development issues and regional political cooperation must be held. We believe that preparations for such a conference should begin now, and in this regard, we would support the view expressed by the Permanent Representative of Singapore, who suggested that an interdisciplinary mission could be mounted by the Secretariat in preparation for such a conference.

We in the Council must speak up for the voiceless and defend the powerless. We must continue to take action to further the process of peace. We must be firm when firmness is required. We must command respect for and compliance with our decisions. We have done much, but we can and should do more for peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

We speak of the window of opportunity for peace, but if the parties fail to act now and take full advantage of it, the window could be slammed shut. They must seize the time and act now and give peace a chance.

In conclusion, I wish to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the indefatigable efforts and the diplomatic skills of Ambassador Kamel Morjane. He has set an example for us in the international community of an international civil servant who has worked hard in the cause of peace. We wish him all the best, and we commend him, the staff of MONUC, General Diallo and the military personnel for all the efforts that they have brought to this process.

Mr. Krokhmal (Ukraine): My delegation is grateful to the Secretary-General for his important statement this morning. We would also like to welcome his Special Representative, Ambassador Morjane, as he takes part in this meeting of the Security Council, and to thank him for the detailed briefing on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

That briefing shows that some positive steps have been taken recently by the parties to enhance the inter-Congolese dialogue. However the peace process, in general, remains fragile. That is why we once again urge all the parties to the conflict to preserve the current conditions conducive to the establishment of peace, which have been created through painstaking efforts, and to take practical steps to ensure cooperation with the United Nations presence in the country.

We maintain that only full implementation of the parties' commitments would make for dynamic developments in the peace process, because it rests with the parties to move the process forward. As for the Security Council, it stands ready to continue rendering its full assistance to the parties in their efforts.

The delays in finalizing the disengagement and redeployment of forces plans are of great concern for my delegation. The disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of all armed groups in the Congo are key and must be implemented effectively and without delay. It is urgent to deprive the negative forces of the support that they still have. We believe that it is extremely important to boost this process and to make sure it engages the forces that continue to operate in the eastern part of the country.

The demilitarization of Kisangani is a key issue, too. We believe it is absolutely unacceptable that the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD-Goma) forces still remain in this city a year after resolution 1304 (2000) was adopted.

Now that the inter-Congolese dialogue is about to start, the Congolese groups must unconditionally relinquish their military options, join in a political dialogue and, together with political parties and civil society, assist in developing constitutional frameworks for democratic rule in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The efforts by the international community to promote the economic, social and humanitarian revival of the country are to become integral elements of the conflict settlement strategy. We take note with appreciation of the donor countries' willingness to support the efforts of the Congolese Government at this critical juncture.

To conclude, I would like to pay tribute to Ambassador Morjane for his tremendous efforts in promoting peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and commend him for his highly skilful management of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo during the last 20 months, in conditions that have been difficult in many respects. On behalf of the Ukrainian delegation, I wish him every success in his new assignment.

Mr. Harrison (United Kingdom): The representative of Belgium will shortly speak on behalf of the European Union, and my delegation fully endorses what he will say. As he will describe, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the wider region of the Great Lakes are very high up on the Union's agenda at the moment.

I should like to thank Special Representative Morjane for his briefing, which was, as ever, very clear, very helpful, very well informed and very well judged. My delegation would like to join others in paying a warm tribute to Ambassador Morjane for the constant and vigorous effort that he has put in throughout his time as the Secretary-General's Special Representative and for the way in which he has driven the peace process forward, often in very difficult conditions. This year, in particular, we are starting to see some real movement, and it is a great tribute to Ambassador Morjane that that is happening. My delegation also wishes him well in the important new duties that he is taking up. From both a professional and personal point of view, we hope that they will bring him back to New York from time to time.

As Ambassador Levitte has said, there is now a window of opportunity in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The disengagement process is now broadly complete. There have been various sticking points along the way, and some still remain. The Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie has still not demilitarized Kisangani, despite the demands in previous Security Council resolutions. It is also clear that some Forces armées congolaises troops remain beyond positions agreed in the Harare sub-plans.

Such issues must be resolved without delay. The prize of a demilitarized Kisangani would be a very valuable one. This Council has kept a close watch on progress made so far, and has been prepared to speak up firmly when any of the parties has failed to meet its

commitments. We must continue to do so, for, as the Secretary-General said in his perceptive introduction to this debate, the progress so far made is still not irreversible. Moving the peace process forward requires continued, steady movement by all the parties in line with their reciprocal obligations. Backsliding in one area by one party could still send the country back into a negative cycle and a return to violence. We must not let this happen.

On disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation or resettlement (DDRRR), we all need seriously to get down to business. On the one hand, the parties must move ahead in providing full information and, in liaison with the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), in drawing up and implementing realistic plans for the DDRRR of the armed groups. On the other hand, the international community must be ready to assist in taking forward these plans. The United Kingdom stands ready to play its part alongside other donors. Serious and practical DDRRR planning is essential to move the peace process forward, but also to build confidence among the parties and to show members of the armed groups that there is a real alternative to fighting.

At the same time, MONUC should be ready to respond to early requests for DDRRR and, in coordination with other parts of international community, to provide practical assistance, as far as is feasible, within its existing mandate and within its capacity.

The recent meetings between some of the leaders of the Lusaka parties, in particular the meeting between President Kabila and President Kagame, have been extremely important in building up the necessary confidence to move ahead with both DDRRR and the withdrawal process. It is vital that such exchanges should continue. It is encouraging news that President Kabila and President Kagame have agreed to stay in regular contact.

The United Kingdom also fully supports the work of the facilitator of the inter-Congolese dialogue, Sir Ketumile Masire, and his team. Their current effort to engage the Congolese people in the dialogue and to identify representatives from all the communities across the country is absolutely crucial. All Congolese people need to know that they have a say and a stake in the future of their country. Only a genuinely open, representative and inclusive dialogue can provide the basis for peace and stability. The preparatory meeting for the dialogue, which is now scheduled for 20 August, must drive this process forward. We call on all parties to cooperate fully with the facilitator and to allow full access, including by civil society, to the facilitator and his representatives.

Progress in the peace process should mean an easing of the plight of the Congolese people, but there is clearly a dire need for humanitarian assistance across the country. As the Secretary-General said, we learned recently from various non-governmental organizations of the plight of the Congolese people and of the humanitarian situation, which is perhaps one of the worst in the world.

Against that background, it is very disappointing that the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo has turned down the recently nominated United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator. I happen to have been a colleague of his in a previous posting, and I can endorse the point made by others that he was an outstanding candidate. We hope that agreement will soon be reached to allow this important role to be filled. Only the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo will suffer if there is a further delay.

We also call once more on all parties to allow full, unimpeded access to United Nations and non-governmental organization personnel who are working to provide humanitarian assistance, and to ensure that their security and safety are respected.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I will now make a statement in my capacity as representative of China.

At the beginning of the meeting, I expressed on behalf of the members of the Security Council our highest respects to Ambassador Kamel Morjane. Now I would like associate myself fully with all the kind words addressed to him by previous speakers.

The peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is now at a critical juncture. If it does not move forward, it will slide back. It is therefore a challenge for the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the States in the Great Lakes region and the United Nations to find a way to maintain this hard-won momentum for peace and to push forward the peace process in order to achieve lasting peace and development in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

and the Great Lakes region. However, the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo remains so complicated that no quick solutions can be easily found. The Security Council should therefore seize the opportunity, remain focused and advance the peace process in a step-by-step and well-planned manner. I share the views expressed by many of our colleagues in this regard. At this stage, there are three questions that deserve the Council's special attention.

First, plans for the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation and resettlement (DDRRR) of the armed groups should be implemented in an effective manner. The implementation of this process hinges mainly on three crucial conditions. First, there must be real progress in the inter-Congolese dialogue. Real progress in this regard can increase mutual trust among the Congolese parties to the conflict and can also help encourage the parties to totally abandon their plans to seek political and economic gains through military means. In addition, there must be a total cessation of assistance of all kinds, weaponry and military assistance in particular, to the armed groups. The countries concerned must scrupulously honour their commitments made in the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. In this regard, the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) should exercise, within its capacities, effective monitoring over the DDRRR process of the armed groups by strengthening its coordination with the Joint Military Commission. Furthermore, there must be timely and adequate financial and economic assistance from the international community so as to make DDRRR process an integral part of the peace process.

Secondly, the demilitarization of Kisangani should be realized as soon as possible. We endorse the proposed increase in MONUC's deployment in Kisangani and recommend that MONUC step up its contacts with the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD-Goma), with a view to putting pressure on RCD-Goma to implement Security Council resolution 1304 (2000). We support the holding of the inter-Congolese dialogue on Congolese territory at an appropriate time and free of foreign interference. The realization of the United Nations goal at Kisangani will mark an important step in the peace process.

Thirdly, the third phase of deployment of MONUC represents a crucial step taken by the United Nations to promote and consolidate a durable peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in the entire Great Lakes region. Member States and the Secretariat should therefore remain ready to ensure that both human and material resources will be in place promptly once the decision for deployment is made.

In addition, economic reconstruction and development are vital to lasting peace and security in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; the international community should therefore give equal weight to this issue. The priority in this regard at the moment is to keep the Congo River open for navigation and to ensure that the small projects proposed by the Council's mission to the Great Lakes region yield results as soon as possible.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

I call on the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Mr. Ileka (Democratic Republic of the Congo) (*spoke in French*): Allow me to begin with the pleasant task of expressing the satisfaction of my delegation on seeing the Security Council led in the month of July by the representative of the People's Republic of China, a country with which we have excellent relations characterized by mutual esteem and trust.

Allow me as well to acknowledge the good work of your predecessor, the representative of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, and to congratulate him on the expertise and skill with which he carried out his important duties as President last month.

My delegation would also like to thank you, Sir, for having convened this important meeting of the Security Council on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which will help us to better assess the peace process under way and to consider the necessary measures to end the war of aggression that my country has experienced for three years now.

This meeting allows me to acknowledge a friend, Mr. Kamel Morjane, Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and to thank him sincerely for this morning's briefing, which gave us a clear and precise idea of the situation currently prevailing in the region and gave us a better grasp of the problems that still exist, as well as the difficulties and obstacles in the peace process, which have to be overcome urgently. The briefing also gave us a better understanding of the great opportunities for peace that exist, which the

Security Council and all parties involved must exploit so that all of the peoples of the Great Lakes region can once again enjoy the peaceful coexistence they have been deprived of for over a decade.

Mr. Morjane, your brother and friend, Mr. Léonard She Okitundu, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, asked me to convey his warmest brotherly greetings, and to assure you that my Government will have, at the right moment in Kinshasa, the opportunity to express its gratitude and the gratitude of the Congolese people as a whole for the excellent work that you have carried out at the head of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), and for your total dedication to the cause of peace and to the restoration of dignity for the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Our Minister for Foreign Affairs has just taken part in the Arusha summit on Burundi, in order to thank former President Nelson Mandela for the important recent progress made in the Arusha process, to make my country's contribution to the peace-building efforts in our neighbouring country, and to deliver an important message of peace and reconciliation to the brotherly people of Burundi, who are still suffering the consequences of upheaval in the region. My Government wholeheartedly supports the Arusha peace process and urges all the parties to the Arusha peace accord to step up their efforts with a view to restoring lasting peace in Burundi.

I would like to welcome the excellent working relationship that has been established between my Permanent Mission and MONUC over the last few months. I would also like to pay tribute, Mr. Morjane, to your inherent leadership and diplomatic qualities, which are, I do not doubt for a single moment, the basis of the climate of trust, mutual respect and active cooperation that has been established between the United Nations and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Now that your MONUC mandate is ending, I hope that the Secretary-General will appoint a worthy successor with a thorough knowledge of the region and of the mentalities of the various parts of our country, and who, above all, will be up to the level of the high hopes for peace that you have raised.

Major-General Joseph Kabila, President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, has at the core of his main concerns the return to peace and the urgent need for the economic recovery and rebuilding of our country. The President of the Republic has spared no effort to achieve this worthy objective, increasing peace initiatives and constantly encouraging or even pushing the parties to harmoniously implement the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement and leading them to strictly respect all the Security Council resolutions on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

As the members of the Security Council were able to observe themselves, and as was well emphasized by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, the relations between my Government and the United Nations have improved remarkably, thus giving new impetus to the United Nations Mission's action in the field.

Everywhere, throughout the country, United Nations civilian and military personnel, as well as associated personnel, are warmly welcomed by the population, the main victim of a long war that it did not cause. This reflects the deep hope and expectations of the Congolese population vis-à-vis the United Nations action in the Congo. This also clearly reveals the appreciation of the Congolese population for the great work done by United Nations personnel and associated personnel in the utmost dedication and selflessness. I would also like to thank, from the bottom of my heart, all those countries that allowed their sons and daughters to come to the Democratic Republic of the Congo to serve the just cause of peace.

We can affirm with certainty that the peace process begun in Lusaka is on the right track overall. There is a real opportunity for peace that must be capitalized on. There are, unfortunately, a certain number of obstacles. These obstacles or problems must be identified and clinically analysed, in a spirit of impartiality, in the framework of an overall approach to the crisis in the Great Lakes region and in the greater interest of a return to peace and the peaceful coexistence of our States, in order to enable us to take concrete measures to overcome them.

To do this, it is crucial that we establish relations of trust between our States. The Security Council must also consolidate and solidify the partnership that it has patiently sealed with the signatories of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, as well as with the Political Committee and the Joint Military Commission.

At the same time as the peace process develops, a serious and thorough discussion must begin so that, at the right time, we can all take the necessary measures to restore this trust, which would certainly have the effect of ensuring a return to normalcy in the Great Lakes region and finally doing away with chaos and despair.

In this regard, I strongly encourage the Security Council, particularly the permanent members, to constantly reassess its management of the Great Lakes crisis so that it will be able in unity to continue to exercise influence and to have a positive impact on the overall peace process.

With respect to the inter-Congolese dialogue, President Masire, the facilitator of the dialogue, informed us of his decision to postpone the pre-dialogue, planned for 16 July, to 20 August 2001. He gave us the reasons for this postponement. We understand them, and we have assured him of our total cooperation so that this meeting can take place on the new date, being aware of its importance for improving the prospects for peace. The Council will most certainly have noted the link that the facilitator establishes between the dialogue and the foreign forces, whose prior withdrawal would greatly help to ensure that the inter-Congolese dialogue runs smoothly.

As for the question of the defence of human rights, the Special Rapporteur, Mr. Garreton, is currently conducting a visit at the invitation of my Government. It would be useful for the Security Council to look at the Special Rapporteur's reports in order to put an end to impunity and so that war criminals can be held accountable for their actions. We also hope that the Special Rapporteur will be able to provide us with useful information as to the implementation of the different national programmes in this area, particularly those concerning the demobilization and the reintegration of child soldiers and those relating to the protection of vulnerable persons.

I would also like to inform members that following the national conference on human rights, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, on 30 June 2001, adopted a Congolese Charter of Human Rights and Rights of Peoples, which contains many relevant provisions, on such matters as the abolition of the death penalty, democracy as a means of access to power, the secular nature of the State or the equality of citizens.

As for the plundering of the natural resources and other forms of wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in violation of its national sovereignty, this phenomenon is continuing at an unbridled pace. My Government urges the Panel of Experts created in this regard to continue its investigations and to complete its work within the scheduled time in order to allow the Council to take all the necessary measures to put an end to all illegal activities in exploitation of resources that belong, in the end, to the Congolese people and that are simply fuelling the pursuit of the war of aggression. To this end, my Government assures the Council of its full cooperation with the Panel of Experts.

As for disengagement, the Council, through its resolution 1341 (2001), had demanded that the parties fully implement the Kampala plan and the Harare sub-plans for disengagement and redeployment of forces, without reservation and within the time-frame of 14 days envisaged by the Harare Agreement, beginning 15 March 2001.

There are still some difficulties in the northern part of the country. Indeed, despite the commitment taken at the eleventh meeting of the Political Committee, one of the parties still has not completed its disengagement and redeployment to its new defensive positions as defined by the Harare sub-plans, and this in violation of Security Council resolutions 1341 (2001) and 1355 (2001). This intentional delay does not allow the central Government to fully assume its responsibilities, especially through the implementation of a civil administration in the zones to be evacuated within the disengagement line fixed by the Harare sub-plans. This party affirms once again that it is completely disengaged. If this is the case, I am pleased. But, in any case, it cannot skirt its obligation to let the United Nations observe the extent of its disengagement, a task that MONUC should tackle as soon as possible.

All the speakers this morning have emphasized the necessary demilitarization of the city of Kisangani. Indeed, Kisangani is still not demilitarized in accordance with resolution 1304 (2000) of 6 June 2000. What is worse, some call for strengthening the occupation of the city. Even worse are the threats of secession and division of the country, which are made

in contempt of the principles of national sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, principles which have often been reaffirmed by the Security Council.

It is crucially important that the city of Kisangani, with its population that continues to suffer enormously from the torments and aftermath of war, stop being the symbol of the martyrdom of an entire nation; rather it should now become the political and physical symbol of revival and the return to dignity of the entire Congolese people, the symbol of hope for a better life for present and future generations of my country.

This is very important since the population of Kisangani has a fervent desire to see the occupying forces leave. The non-demilitarization of the city might simply strengthen the Congolese people's growing feeling of humiliation. The history of the world shows clearly that such a feeling brings with it the serious threat of extremist uprisings. We must avoid this together.

As for the withdrawal of foreign forces and disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation, or resettlement (DDRRR), all the leaders of the region have been able to confirm their willingness to withdraw from the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in accordance with the order established by resolution 1304 (2000). Certain parties have turned their words into deeds, and are indeed withdrawing some of their contingents. Others show reluctance to do so. Others combine withdrawal with rotation and redeployment, and express their willingness to maintain troops in border towns of the Democratic Republic of the Congo which are — oddly enough — located in areas that are rich in natural resources.

All of these withdrawal and deployment movements must be monitored, which raises the question of the need to increase the military personnel of MONUC devoted to this task. My Government has already put forward a figure of 20,000 peacekeepers and hopes that this estimate will be taken into consideration in the upcoming deliberations of the Council on this question.

In its resolution 1341 (2001), the Council requested the elaboration of a plan and a specific timetable that would lead to the finalization of the full and orderly withdrawal of foreign troops and of plans for disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement. This has not yet been done. It would be advisable for the Council, through MONUC, to help the parties draw up these plans, so that the third phase of the deployment of MONUC, as requested by all of the parties, could become a reality.

My Government is helping to finalize many details of the withdrawal and disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement plans. In this specific context, my Government would like to inform the Council that it has set up cantonment sites that MONUC and international observers should visit, if they have not yet done so.

With respect to the security concerns raised by certain parties and in particular by Rwanda, there is an acute need for trust, which we must establish at all costs. For us, the Congolese people, these security concerns represent yet another pretext aimed at maintaining the Rwandan occupation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Let us recall that from 1997 to 1998, my country benefited from cooperation with Rwanda, in the form of technical military assistance, with a view to helping to reorganize the Congolese armed forces. Throughout that entire period, no one ever mentioned any security concerns, nor any relating to the former Rwandan Army forces (ex-FAR) or Interahamwe activities.

Nor can my country forget that it took months for Rwanda to recognize the extent of its intervention. It then used as a justification the need to defend those Congolese whose nationality was supposedly being questioned and who were reportedly being persecuted by the Congolese authorities.

The Congolese people recall that they followed attentively the Council's debate on 7 February this year. They heard each member of the Council make comments and ask relevant and specific questions of the President of Rwanda, namely concerning the presence of forces of aggression on the Congolese territory, the permeability of common borders and the need to build a free, secure and democratic Rwandan society based on human rights, equality and respect for diversity. From our point of view, the answers were not convincing.

Nevertheless, my Government is aware of the fact that security concerns — whether genuine or not —

determine the attitude of the Rwandan authorities in formulating their foreign policy, in particular in the region.

My Government would like to recall that these concerns stem fundamentally from justice denied — justice denied for the thousands of Rwandans who were the victims of genocide; justice denied for the thousands of Rwandans who were the victims of human rights violations, crimes against humanity, massacres, summary executions and serious violations of international humanitarian law, even if those acts are not explicitly covered by article II of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted by the General Assembly on 9 December 1948; and, finally, justice denied for those millions of Congolese who perished as a result of the war of aggression.

We would like to stress that it is imperative to address the question of impunity and bring to justice those responsible for the most serious crimes. On their behalf, on behalf of all the victims, we dare to call for this justice.

With a view to tackling the question of the settlement of the war of aggression, my Government has taken the initiative of beginning direct contacts with the leaders of aggressor countries. The Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, whose presence here today we welcome, has also become personally involved, inter alia by organizing a tripartite meeting in Lusaka early this month. We would like to thank him most sincerely for this initiative and to ask him to continue along this path, as well as to explore other paths that would allow for the successful and early conclusion of the peace process.

In line with its continuing quest to establish and build confidence, my Government would like to inform the Council of the following facts. First, the Democratic Republic of the Congo has no hidden agenda in Rwanda. Secondly, the Democratic Republic of the Congo believes that all Rwandans who would like to live in their own country have the right to do so and should be authorized to return home. The others should seek asylum elsewhere, as my country wishes to remain from now on a transit country.

Thirdly, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which bears no responsibility for the Rwandan genocide of 1994, will not tolerate its territory being used as a base for the launching of operations aimed at destabilizing neighbouring countries with which it wishes to be on good terms. Fourthly, the Democratic Republic of the Congo is convinced that any peace will be fragile if the peoples of the Great Lakes region have no guarantees of lasting security.

Fifthly, the Democratic Republic of the Congo believes that these security guarantees should not come at the expense of its sovereignty nor interfere with its territorial integrity. Sixthly, the Democratic Republic of the Congo believes that a just and lasting solution is within our reach. We must seek it and find it through a frank and sincere dialogue, in a bilateral framework, of course, but — better still — in the framework of an international conference on peace, security, democracy and development in the Great Lakes region.

The establishment and the strengthening of relations of trust must be strengthened through a greater credibility of the United Nations and its Security Council. Failing this, the partnership that the Council has patiently built with the parties linked to the Lusaka Agreement might crumble altogether.

As proof of this, the results of the Council's mission to the Great Lakes region — which we at home call the Levitte mission — were greatly appreciated by our people. The promises the Council made have been kept. The reopening of the riverine network for humanitarian aid and trade between Kinshasa and Kisangani is now a reality. It has also given rise to great interest on the part of the neighbouring countries directly concerned, whose hope it is that the opening of the waterway could extend to the tributaries of the Congo River, including the Ubangi River.

This represents a fresh opportunity for MONUC to explore, inter alia by broadening the membership of the Congo River Basin Commission, which it oversees along with the concerned parties, to all countries that might be interested in taking part in it.

Similarly, the 40-odd small, quick-impact projects that were identified by the Council mission are already beginning to be implemented. These all are tangible actions that prompt admiration of the United Nations and give credibility to its actions. It is in order to strengthen this credibility that my Government has invited the Security Council to ensure that none of the parties falters in its determination to successfully implement the peace process.

My Government, therefore, has questioned the Council on three specific points: first, the lack of willingness of one of the parties to disengage fully in the province of Equateur; secondly, the non-demilitarization of Kisangani; and thirdly, the orderly withdrawal of all foreign forces.

My Government believes that the Council must, in order to preserve its credibility and prevent the peace process from being called into question, implement the measures it has proposed, so that the reluctant parties that have not yet complied with the relevant provisions of the Council's resolutions can be induced to do so. It must also take measures as authorized by the Charter of the United Nations, mainly in Articles 39 to 42.

Only in this way can we hope to attain the immediate objective of the return of a lasting peace to my country and to the entire Great Lakes region.

However, we cannot overlook the fact that there are other, equally massive challenges facing the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We must restore balances that no longer exist and rebuild, practically from scratch, an effective State that is concerned with the most basic rights of its citizens, and we must do so on a sound and democratic basis. It must be a State that is capable of ensuring lasting peace accompanied by lasting development, for both the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the entire Great Lakes region. Lastly, it must be a State that is imbued with the highest objectives of humankind: peace, justice and prosperity.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank the representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo for the kind words he addressed to me and to my country.

The next speaker is the representative of Belgium. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. De Ruyt (Belgium) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — and the associated countries Cyprus, Malta and Turkey align themselves with this statement. I am particularly gratified that my first statement to the Security Council on behalf of the European Union should be on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, a matter that, as members know, is of particular interest to my country.

This public meeting of the Security Council is most timely. It allows us to review United Nations action in the field, to evaluate the practical achievements of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) and to propose improvements in that peacekeeping operation for the near future.

The European Union thanks the Secretary-General for his presence here today and for his personal involvement in this difficult matter. Along with previous speakers, we congratulate the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kamel Morjane, on his outstanding performance as head of MONUC over the past 20 months. The task of deploying and setting up MONUC was by no means easy, but the challenge was taken up with courage and spirit. It will not be easy to replace Ambassador Morjane, but the European Union urges that this be done without delay, as it would be particularly inopportune to leave such a strategic post vacant in the present circumstances.

The international community hopes for a return to peace and economic recovery in the Great Lakes region, especially in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, which is most unusual geopolitically, as it lies at the centre of the African continent, and which is exceptionally rich in a wide variety of natural resources, whose overexploitation by the belligerents — without the least benefit to the people of the Congo — is one of the leading causes of the conflict. The international community is well aware that regional stability depends on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The European Union has consistently affirmed that only a political solution to the ongoing conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo can be viable. Should the belligerent parties choose to pursue the military option, that would only lead to further suffering, of which a population already hard-pressed by years of war has had enough.

The European Union considers that the window of opportunity which has been open in the Democratic Republic of the Congo since the beginning of the year remains despite the real danger that the situation could erode. In the eyes of the European Union, the international community's diplomatic efforts must now

concentrate above all on the following: national dialogue; the economic situation of the country, and foreign aid; withdrawal of foreign troops; and the process of the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement of armed factions.

The European Union has taken note of Sir Ketumile Masire's announcement that the formal start of the inter-Congolese dialogue process would be postponed to 20 August 2001 as a result of the consultations now under way between the facilitator's team and civil society entities. It is vital that the meeting be held without further postponement. Such a dialogue must accompany the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement; it will test the desire of the parties to seek a lasting solution to the conflict. The European Union believes that the participants in the dialogue will set realistic goals and will decide on a compact time-frame. The facilitator can count on the support of the European Union.

The renewed commitment of the international community and the gradual and balanced resumption of cooperation assistance in the Democratic Republic of the Congo are dependent on the resumption of dialogue, on progress in that dialogue, and on overall progress in the implementation of the Lusaka Agreement.

On the subject of assistance, it is possible to go beyond mere emergency humanitarian assistance. For that reason, the European Union has decided on a gradual resumption of cooperation — a resumption based on progress in the field — and has decided that this should extend to the whole population. The European Union welcomes the fact that international financial institutions are currently moving in the same direction, and it hopes that other donor countries will announce their participation in such endeavours, for example at the next meeting coordinated by the World Bank. In that context, we underscore the need for all humanitarian workers to have access to all parts of the territory of the country.

Through the European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid, who visited the Democratic Republic of the Congo last week, the European Union has confirmed its readiness to disburse 120 million euros in assistance contingent on concrete progress in the peace process and in the inter-Congolese dialogue.

As the Special Representative of the Secretary-General has said, MONUC is now facing real difficulties, especially in Kisangani, a city that which we hope will become a symbol of national reconciliation. The immediate demilitarization of Kisangani is necessary to bring that about. But there must also be genuine disengagement in the rest of the country in strict compliance with the disengagement plans approved at Kampala and at Harare.

To that end it is necessary jointly to keep the pressure on all parties and thus to put their desire for peace to the test. We must also encourage bilateral contacts between various regional leaders, such as the recent meeting, in the presence of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, between Presidents Kabila and Kagame parallel to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity.

Let me speak briefly about the serious issue of disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement, to which nearly all speakers have made reference. The question of a plan for disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement is a vital one, because the problem of the armed factions that are at large in the eastern Congo, with the attendant risk of destabilization, is a key — indeed the key — to this conflict. Recent developments suggest that the international community may very soon need to implement such a plan. The requirements must be known as soon as possible so that a carefully devised, effective programme can be formulated and so that the donor community can contribute. But developing such programmes is a complex matter. We hope that the United Nations, as the natural body to steer such a plan, will, through the Secretary-General, provide the necessary impetus to launch it, and that a follow-up mechanism will be created to ensure that preparations are speedily made.

The Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the European Union has mandated the Union's Special Representative to contact the Secretary-General and ask him to appoint a pilot body to draw up and implement a plan. The mandate and the staff of MONUC will probably have to be modified to implement such a programme. With the necessary sense of urgency, the European Union will press the Security Council to take action to adapt MONUC's mandate as required. For its part, the European Union

would certainly be one of the major contributors to the establishment of such a programme.

In conclusion, the European Union expresses the hope that the parties to the conflict will make every effort to ensure the success of the Lusaka Agreement and that they will heed the message from the international community, headed by the Security Council, the guarantor of international peace and security.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): In accordance with arrangements made among members of the Council, I shall adjourn the meeting shortly and resume it this afternoon. Following statements made by the speakers remaining on my list, Ambassador Morjane will respond to questions raised by members of the Council and we will adopt the presidential statement.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Rwanda. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Gasana (Rwanda) (*spoke in French*): Rwanda warmly welcomes the presidency of China for this month. We express our sincere satisfaction at seeing you, Sir, preside over the Council and at the outstanding manner in which you have guided its debates.

We followed with great attention and interest the briefing on the situation in the Great Lakes region. We thank Ambassador Kamel Morjane for his work as Special Representative of the Secretary-General. He has fought the good fight, as Saint Paul would say, and has now completed his assignment in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. His successor will assume the reins on a firmer basis, although one that remains to be consolidated. Ambassador Morjane is an extremely talented individual. His experience and wisdom will always shine among us and his advice will always be most welcome.

In preparation for this important meeting, on 13 July the Permanent Representative of the Democratic Republic of the Congo wrote a letter to the President of the Security Council. My letter of 19 July, contained in document S/2001/716 of 20 July 2001, was a response to that letter. I would ask you, Sir, to absolve me of having to respond orally to that letter at this public meeting today or even tomorrow, for I would not wish to engage in polemics here. Indeed, Ambassador Morjane, here beside me, has strongly urged me not to do so. As the accredited Permanent Representative and Ambassador of Rwanda to the United Nations, I would not wish to say anything in my statement to the Council that might impede or undermine the current efforts of the Secretary-General to settle the Congolese conflict in the Great Lakes region of Africa.

At their meeting in the margins of the special session of the General Assembly on HIV/AIDS, the Secretary-General and the President of the Republic of Rwanda resolved to work together, as Africans, to find a solution to the Congolese crisis. At the summit of the Organization of African Unity at Lusaka, the Secretary-General brought together Presidents Paul Kagame of Rwanda and Joseph Kabila of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. As I speak here today, I know that the Secretary-General is pursuing his efforts. If they are successful, they will mark above all our shared success, and especially that of Rwanda, as a State Member of the United Nations directly concerned by the conflict in our region. I therefore do not wish to dwell at length on these issues.

Rwanda still relies on the assistance of the Security Council, an organ of the United Nations, to continue to ensure that all the signatories to the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement respect their commitment to its full implementation. Since the negative forces that planned and carried out the genocide in Rwanda and their sponsors still threaten peace in the region, we feel that the Security Council absolutely must address this very particular case and continue to seek to help the region in order to ensure that the forces of evil — those who planned and carried out the genocide in Rwanda — are prevented from doing any further harm. Those negative forces, as we have heard throughout this meeting, are deeply hurting our region.

Rwanda once again reaffirms its full cooperation with the Secretary-General and the Security Council in order to establish a lasting peace in the Congo and the Great Lakes region.

The meeting was suspended at 1.10 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4348 (Resumption 1)

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4348th meeting

Tuesday, 24 July 2001, 4.40 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wang Yingfan	(China)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Ireland	Mr. Ryan
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Kassé
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Mejdoub
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Briefing by Mr. Kamel Morjane, Special Representative of the Secretary-General in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Head of the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-46688 (E)

The meeting was resumed at 4.40 p.m.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Namibia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Theron (Namibia): I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, on assuming the presidency of the Security Council and on arranging this important meeting. My delegation also wishes to commend Ambassador Chowdhury for the excellent manner in which he conducted the work of the Council in June. My delegation is grateful for the presence of the Secretary-General this morning and for his important statement. I also wish to thank Ambassador Kamel Morjane for his excellent briefing regarding the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

My delegation welcomes the detailed information from Ambassador Morjane about the general situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the fact that the ceasefire has been holding. We also note the progress made so far in the disengagement and redeployment of forces, as well as the overall progress in the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The information has provided the Council with an excellent opportunity to evaluate the matter and reflect on future strategies. My delegation wishes to make use of this opportunity to reaffirm its commitment to the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, the Kampala plan and the Harare sub-plans on the disengagement and redeployment of forces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as to Security Council resolutions on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Furthermore, we welcome the progress in the preparation for the inter-Congolese dialogue and note that the preparatory meeting was postponed until 20 August due to organizational difficulties. We note with appreciation the Congolese Government's support for the dialogue and its efforts to facilitate the dialogue. My delegation reiterates its position that the dialogue should take place on Congolese soil and be conducted without foreign interference.

However, we note with deep concern that some parties still continue to frustrate the peace process, in violation of agreements and Security Council resolutions. In this regard, we are particularly concerned that the city of Kisangani and its surroundings are still not demilitarized, as demanded by resolution 1304 (2000) of 16 June 2000 and resolution 1355 (2001). My delegation therefore calls on the Security Council to enforce its decision on this matter by invoking measures envisaged under paragraph 28 of its resolution 1355 (2001). Specifically, in that paragraph, the Council expressed its readiness to consider possible measures that could be imposed in accordance with its responsibilities and obligations under the Charter of the United Nations in case the parties fail to comply fully with resolution 1355 (2001) and other relevant resolutions.

My delegation remains deeply concerned about the acute humanitarian situation facing the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In this regard, we reiterate our previous call to the international community for assistance to the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. We also strongly support the projects initiated by the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) and urge that they be expanded. Such projects, together with the opening of the Congolese river network, apart from their economic benefits, can also assist confidence-building in the country.

As stated at the time of the decision, my delegation welcomes the extension of the mandate of MONUC until 15 June 2002. However, we express the hope that the Security Council will, in considering the mandate and size of MONUC in its phase III deployment, take fully into account the demands and requirements of the peacekeeping operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In conclusion, my delegation wishes to extend its profound gratitude to Ambassador Kamel Morjane for the outstanding service he has rendered to the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. His diplomatic skills and personal commitment have contributed significantly to the progress achieved thus far in the peace process. My delegation wishes him well in his future endeavours.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank the representative of Namibia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Zimbabwe. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Jokonya (Zimbabwe): Like my colleagues who have spoken before me, I would like to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. You are aware of the very close relations between our two countries, which we shall always cherish.

The timing of today's meeting could not have been more perfect, coming as it does after the Security Council has been briefed on the situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo by the Secretary-General's Special Representative to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, my brother and dear friend, Ambassador Morjane, who has assumed in our eyes in Africa the role of a spirit medium in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. My delegation regards it as a privilege to participate in this open debate on the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Let me take this occasion to congratulate the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) on the sterling work it has accomplished in the last few months. Indeed the deployment of MONUC, together with the cooperation of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement signatories, has transformed challenges into possibilities. For their part, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) allied forces in the Democratic Republic of the Congo took heed of the Security Council's condition that phase II of MONUC deployment would be contingent on the disengagement of all foreign troops. In this regard, Ambassador Morjane can confirm that since the United Nations situated itself at the head of the table of the Democratic Republic of the Congo peace process through the deployment of MONUC, Zimbabwe has been withdrawing its troops from both the front lines and from the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

My delegation also wishes to acknowledge the indomitable will of the Congolese people in their quest to shape a new political destiny for posterity. Despite the cataclysmic conflict that has resulted in the death of more than 2 million people, mostly in the occupied territories, the inter-Congolese dialogue remains on schedule. In this regard, the political space of civil society, especially in occupied eastern Congo, should be recognized.

The Council will recall that in my previous pronouncement on the Democratic Republic of the Congo imbroglio, I noted three intertwined but different types of conflicts that dominated the Great Lakes landscape, namely, conventional war, guerrilla insurgency and ethnic cleansing.

While the first type of conflict, conventional war, which involved State actors, has ceased, the other two types are yet to subside. This explains the upsurge of violence in the two Kivus over the last few weeks. It is in the occupied territories that MONUC is facing harassment and obstructions, particularly from the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD-Goma).

While it is not the object of my delegation to apportion blame, I call on the Security Council to urge those Lusaka signatories that support RCD-Goma to encourage their ally to toe the line. We know that RCD-Goma is a pawn and can be ordered to comply. It is time to stop the continuous exploitation, repression and oppression of the Congolese people by the RCD-Goma. We agree with my colleague of the Russian Federation that sanctions and other measures must be imposed because of RCD recalcitrance. The SADC allied forces have done their part. If stock of what hitherto has been achieved were taken, it would show that the SADC allied forces have fulfilled their part of the bargain.

When President Joseph Kabila addressed the Security Council on 2 February 2001, he recognized that the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement was the route map for United Nations engagement in the Democratic Republic of the Congo peace process. The Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, acknowledges the indivisibility of the Congo. It is disheartening to note that Kisangani remains militarized despite the adoption of the resolution by the United Nations calling for its demilitarization. The demilitarization of Kisangani merits the attention of this Council, and, in this regard, my delegation urges those Lusaka signatories responsible for the destruction of Kisangani to fulfil their ceasefire obligations.

The joke — for it can only be a joke of the RCD-Goma — that they are protecting human rights through the illegal occupation of parts of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is not only farcical, but constitutes blatant disregard for the rights of the people of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It makes a mockery of the Security Council and the United Nations. It must be dealt with.

Lastly, let me thank the Security Council for raising both the visibility and the physical presence of the United Nations through the deployment of MONUC. MONUC, with the Joint Military Commission, has commendably driven the peace process. But let us not lose sight of the fact that the sheer size of the Congo makes it impossible for MONUC to effectively discharge its multifaceted duties, which at some stage would involve the tracking down, disarming and rehabilitation of members of the armed groups that are not signatories to the Lusaka Agreement. If MONUC is having difficulties with a non-State actor but a signatory to the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement, like the RCD-Goma, what others would it have with those other elements which are not part of the Lusaka Agreement?

I therefore urge the Security Council to revise upward MONUC troop levels so as to enable it to accomplish its monumental task. Indeed, the goodwill demonstrated to the Democratic Republic of the Congo by the international community, manifested by the creation of MONUC, should, in our view, be sustained.

In conclusion, may I pay homage to a great son of Africa, my friend here, Ambassador Morjane. I know that Ambassador Morjane will consider that we do not need to pay him compliments for performing his duty to mother Africa. This may be so, but members know as well as I that not all sons of Africa have done the continent proud. We are proud of him. We shall always cherish his indomitable courage, candour and total commitment to the cause of peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. As he goes to a new assignment, we know that he will continue to serve humanity and mother Africa.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank the representative of Zimbabwe for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now give the floor to Ambassador Morjane to respond to the comments made and questions raised.

Mr. Morjane (*spoke in French*): The very kind comments concerning what has been said and concerning what I have modestly done in the Congo must certainly have been exaggerated because of the friendship that links me to some of those present. However, I wish to thank members very warmly for everything that has been said. I will take from here a very moving memory.

With regard to everything that has been said, particularly about my colleagues, I wish once again to stress to the Council that, even if it they are far from us now, they continue to do their work. I wish to express once again all my feelings of faithfulness and warmth towards them. I thank the members of the Council for the kind words addressed to me and, above all, to them. Once again, thank you.

I will, at your request, Mr. President, respond to three questions asked — two by Ambassador Valdivieso of Colombia and one by Ambassador Durrant of Jamaica. The first of Ambassador Valdivieso's two questions touches on the question of the development of the joint Congo River Basin Commission initiative, as envisaged in Security Council resolution 1355 (2001).

I wish to simply say that in the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) we are working on freedom of navigation at three levels. The first level is the freedom of movement of all MONUC vehicles, be they land, river or air vehicles, and we do not have any arrangement to make with the parties apart from keeping them informed. In that context, the first barge went from Kinshasa to Kisangani about a month ago, as is known.

The second level is the humanitarian level. Here, above all, we stress the need for all the parties to grant free access to United Nations humanitarian personnel and humanitarian personnel of non-governmental organizations. I hope that that will crystallize on 31 July with what is called the "peace boat", which should leave Kinshasa for Equateur Province. This also responds to a point concerning the Ubangui, since we are also thinking about the Ubangui when we consider freedom of navigation on the Congo.

I hope that the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie (RCD), with which I had a discussion two weeks ago, will allow the second boat to leave Kinshasa for Kisangani. But this brings us to the third level, that of the Joint Military Commission. We have proposed a draft agreement to the various parties, Governments and rebel movements to regulate river navigation. We expect to get their comments and observations very soon, and I hope to meet with all the parties to finalize this agreement among all the parties so that freedom of navigation on the Congo and the Ubangui will be a reality, which will be important for

peace, but above all for future relations among the Congolese, wherever they are.

I also wish to thank and to pay a strong tribute to Uruguay, which has, as members know, already deployed its river unit at Mbandaka. We hope to be able to have a second unit, be it from Uruguay or another country, at Kisangani, because clearly the task is enormous and one unit alone is not enough to ensure the safety of navigation.

I am sorry if I have spoken too long on this topic, but the Council is aware, of course, of the importance we attach to this question. As I said earlier, I hope that we will soon have the agreement of all parties concerning the proposed draft convention. We will certainly be extending it to the other countries of the region, the other countries of the Congo Basin, in order to be able effectively to guarantee navigation on the Ubangi as well and fully involve both the Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

The second question came from Ambassador Valdivieso, and it concerned the extent of the cooperation that we are receiving from the parties concerning the process of disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement. Let me say here — and I believe that Ambassador Cunningham also raised this question — that MONUC has prepared what is known as a concept paper, which is a basic paper we will be discussing at the departmental level and with all of the United Nations agencies that should be involved.

We are already in touch with all of those who could contribute to this important peace operation. It is especially important also because, as we all know, it is linked with the departure of Rwandese troops in particular. We are working on this question with the Joint Military Commission and with a number of agencies. Let me note here that, for example, the World Bank has already agreed to make available to MONUC a World Bank executive to ensure coordination with MONUC and to serve, in a way, as our liaison in the area of rehabilitation, where the Bank could play a major role.

The same thing is true of the International Organization for Migration, which could certainly also provide assistance in the framework of transportation, repatriation and rehabilitation. We are working on this. We hope for greater cooperation from the parties, particularly with respect to information. We are greatly lacking in information, especially as concerns armed groups, and also definitely in terms of subsequent cooperation, with a view to providing answers for all of the questions that are still pending and that have not yet been resolved at the level of the Joint Military Commission. The Commission, as the Council is aware, must finalize the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration and repatriation or resettlement plan.

General Diallo spoke today to President Kabila about the two camps that he mentioned. He confirmed that MONUC will be visiting the first two camps in the next few days. This is very important for us, because, of course, it will serve as an encouragement for the operation, even though we are talking about fairly limited numbers with respect to the two camps that President Kabila spoke of to the Secretary-General and to President Kagame.

The third question was put by Ambassador Durrant and relates to resolution 1341 (2001) and whether it has been respected, especially as concerns child soldiers. Unfortunately I must inform the Ambassador of Jamaica that it has not been sufficient. Much remains to be done regarding resolution 1341 (2001) and the situation of child soldiers. Just yesterday, as the Council is aware, I was speaking to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on the measures that need to be taken. I think he has already briefed the Council on the mission, which, I would note, was sent to the Congo at the request of the Ambassador of Jamaica. I think that the parties need to be encouraged and pressed further to respect those provisions. All parties must make an effort in this direction.

As to the violations of the ceasefire — because Miss Durrant referred to this as well, and because assistance to armed groups is considered a ceasefire violation — MONUC has a list of complaints and allegations from all sides, but especially from the RCD. That list includes some forty or so complaints. About 10 days ago, it was submitted to the Joint Military Commission. Unfortunately, we were not able to verify all of the allegations, simply because, in most cases, they took place in areas of the Congolese territory where there are no signatory parties that could ensure the safety of our observers. So even if a party makes an allegation, if that party cannot ensure our safety or accompany us, because verification must be made with the participation of both parties — the complainant

party and the defendant party, if you will — then, as happened in many cases, verification cannot proceed. In other cases we were able to do this, and we sent about 40 cases to the Joint Military Commission, as provided for by our cooperation arrangements with that Commission.

This, then, is what I had to say, in addition to thanking you, Mr. President. And simply to give a clearer picture of the regrettably fragile nature of the ceasefire and of the process, let me recall what you already certainly know: the state of tension that has prevailed since yesterday in Nienze, near Bunia, and once again between the Hema and Lendu communities. We have to take very serious measures and precautions there, because it seems that the situation is not at all good in that region of the Congo. This illustrates to what extent we are at the mercy of the many actions or provocations that may arise in one area or another.

I should like once again to thank you, Mr. President, and all of the members of the Council. I remain at the Council's disposal. As the Council is aware, I will return to Kinshasa and will be there until at least 7 or 8 September.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Mr. Morjane for the clarifications he has made and the answers he has given to the questions posed.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4349

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4349th meeting

Tuesday, 24 July 2001, 5.10 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wang Yingfan	(China)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Ahsan
	Colombia	Mr. Franco
	France	Mr. Teixeira da Silva
	Ireland	Mr. Cooney
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Kassé
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Konuzin
	Singapore	Mr. Bhatia
	Tunisia	Mr. Mejdoub
	Ukraine	Mr. Pyvovarov
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Minton

Agenda

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-46645 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation concerning the Democratic Republic of the Congo

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The Security Council will now continue its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council takes note with satisfaction of the progress made so far in the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

"The Security Council calls on all the parties to the conflict to fulfil all their commitments, implement fully the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement (S/1999/815) and complete the disengagement and redeployment of their forces in accordance with the Kampala plan and the Harare sub-plans, which the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) will verify.

"The Security Council finds it unacceptable that more than one year after the adoption of its resolution 1304 (2000) of 16 June 2000 containing the demand completely to demilitarize Kisangani, reiterated in resolution 1355 (2001) of 15 June 2001, the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie has thus far failed to comply with it. The Council calls on the Rassemblement congolais pour la démocratie to implement fully and immediately its obligations under resolution 1304 (2000), and notes that continued failure to do so may have future implications.

"The Security Council reminds all the parties of their obligation to cooperate fully with MONUC and of their obligations with respect to the security of civilian populations under the fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949. The Council urges the relevant parties to expedite conclusion of their investigation into the killing of six International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) staff in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, to report their findings to the ICRC and to bring the perpetrators to justice.

"The Security Council calls on all parties to facilitate and support humanitarian efforts of the United Nations and non-governmental organizations. It stresses the importance of the work of the United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator.

"The Security Council reiterates its call for the cessation of the illegal exploitation of the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In this regard, it calls on all parties to cooperate fully with the expert panel and, looking forward to the addendum to the report of the panel, reiterates its readiness to consider the necessary actions to put an end to this exploitation.

"The Security Council reiterates its demand on all parties to accelerate the finalization and the implementation of comprehensive plans for the orderly withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation and resettlement of all armed groups referred to in annex A, chapter 9.1, of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement.

"The Security Council expresses serious concern over the activities of the armed groups in the East of the country. It takes note with interest of the invitation by the President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to MONUC to visit the camps where some members of the armed groups have reportedly been quartered by the Forces armées congolaises, and stresses the importance of MONUC assisting, within its capabilities, in the early implementation, on a voluntary basis, of the disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, repatriation and resettlement of these armed groups, in accordance with the authorization given in its resolution 1355 (2001). The Council requests in this regard the donor community, in particular the World Bank

and the European Union, to provide financial and in kind contributions as soon as possible to MONUC in the implementation of this mission.

"The Security Council reiterates its firm support for the inter-Congolese dialogue and the efforts of the facilitator and his team in the field. It emphasizes the importance of an open, representative and inclusive dialogue, free from outside interference and involving civil society, leading to a consensus settlement. It calls on the Congolese parties to the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement to cooperate fully with the facilitator to enable him to conduct the process in a swift and constructive manner. It expresses the hope that the dialogue can be held on Congolese soil, respecting the choice that the Congolese actors themselves will make. It encourages donors to continue to provide support to the facilitator's mission.

"The Security Council welcomes the recent high-level meetings between the Presidents of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Uganda and encourages them further to pursue the dialogue to find solutions to their common security concerns in accordance with the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement.

"The Security Council reiterates its commitment to support full implementation of the Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement. It reaffirms that the primary responsibility for implementing the Agreement lies with the parties. The Council urges them to demonstrate necessary political will by cooperating with each other and with MONUC in achieving this goal. It expresses its readiness to consider, subject to necessary progress made by the parties and to recommendations of the Secretary-General, possible expansion of MONUC if and when the mission enters its third phase.

"The Security Council commends the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Kamel Morjane, for his outstanding work and invaluable contribution to the peace process in the Democratic Republic of the Congo."

That statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2001/19.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.20 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4350

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4350th meeting

Thursday, 26 July 2001, 10.30 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wang Yingfan	(China)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Doutriaux
	Ireland	Mr. Ryan
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Touré
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Singapore	Ms. Lee
	Tunisia	Mr. Chaouachi
	Ukraine	Mr. Kulyk
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Security Council resolutions 1160 (1998), 1199 (1998), 1203 (1998), 1239 (1999) and 1244 (1999).

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01-46909 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Security Council resolutions 1160 (1998), 1199 (1998), 1203 (1998), 1239 (1999) and 1244 (1999)

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I would like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Belgium and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mladenović (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. de Ruyt (Belgium) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Guéhenno to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Guéhenno at this meeting. I understand that he is also prepared to answer questions or provide clarifications if need be. At the end of the briefing I will give the floor to Council members who wish to make comments or ask questions. I would like to invite members to raise their hands if they wish to take the floor.

I now give the floor to Mr. Guéhenno.

Mr. Guéhenno (*spoke in French*): I am pleased to brief members of the Security Council on the developments in Kosovo since the last briefing of 22 June 2001. I will focus today on a few priority issues regarding our Mission in Kosovo: the preparations for elections, the preparation for Kosovo self-government, relations with the minority communities, the Mission's efforts to improve law and order, and the implementation of confidence-building measures to overcome the divisions that disunite Kosovo.

The first issue is the preparations for elections in Kosovo. The preparations for these elections have now entered a very active phase, with the conclusion of the party certification period on 20 July. As of that date, 16 Kosovo Albanian parties; 11 minority-community parties, including four Serb parties; one independent candidate; three citizens' initiatives; and one coalition had submitted the requisite certification applications to the Central Election Commission (CEC).

The institution-building pillar of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) has established a special task force to inform the Kosovo Serb community about the electoral system and ethnic representation in the Assembly that is to be elected. We are encouraged by the positive signs we have seen so far, but we continue to call on the Belgrade authorities to send an unequivocal sign to the Kosovo Serb parties to become fully involved in the election campaign.

The Kosovo Albanian parties are gearing up for the elections. Many of the smaller parties that received less than 1 per cent of the vote in the municipal elections are seeking coalition partners to strengthen their popularity in preparation for the elections. In order to encourage coalition-building, as opposed to an excessively fragmented political scene, the CEC has authorized a two-week extension so that these coalitions can register, be certified and thus participate in the upcoming elections.

Alongside party certification, preparations are also under way for the beginning of voter registration. This process will take place between 30 July and 9 September. In order to facilitate the registration of internally displaced persons, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) has concluded memoranda of understanding with the Serbian and Montenegrin authorities. In order to facilitate the

registration of voters from minority communities in Kosovo, preparations are well under way for establishing special registration centres. This process includes the recruitment of 200 locals, mainly from these minority communities that we want to encourage to register to vote.

A key element that should make the establishment of voting lists easier this year than during the first elections, the municipal elections of 2000, is the distribution of identification cards to the habitual residents of Kosovo. I note that more than 850,000 identification cards have been produced to date, and that 600,000 of these have been distributed. The objective is to provide such identification cards to all eligible voters prior to the election.

I would like to say a few words on the second point, regarding the implementation of the Constitutional Framework, because, in fact, hand in hand with the electoral preparations UNMIK is continuing to work on fleshing out the provisions of the Constitutional Framework and to prepare for the transfer of authority that will follow the elections. UNMIK is focusing on the development of the institutions of the executive branch, because they are not yet spelled out in detail in the Constitutional Framework. UNMIK is also focusing on the support and oversight that it is to provide to these nascent institutions. The preparations for the transition have stressed the "Kosovarization" of senior management and the capacity-building of local staff in the areas of administration, procurement, market management policy, budget and finance.

I would like now to turn to the very important issue of engaging the communities of Kosovo. Special emphasis continues to be given to encouraging the minority communities, particularly the Kosovo Serb community, to participate in public life in Kosovo, through both direct engagement and improving contacts with the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Preparations for the small-scale return of Kosovo Serbs continue, with particular emphasis on returns to the Osojane valley in the Istok municipality. In order to meet the crucial funding requirements for safe and sustainable return, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General Mr. Haekkerup chaired the first donor meeting in Pristina on 29 June.

The Contact Group on Detainees and Missing Person, comprising UNMIK officials and representatives of the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, is now meeting on a fortnightly basis. Some advances have been made on a number of issues, such as direct collaboration on exhumations and the identification of remains found in mass gravesites, including the exchange of forensic experts. The issue of the missing remains emotive, of course, and continues to provoke demonstrations and protests on all sides. Most recently, Kosovo Serb relatives of the missing have been demonstrating in Gracanica. They have done so since 10 July, with several family members going on a hunger strike on 16 July. With regard to the remaining Kosovo Albanian detainees in prison in Serbia, UNMIK now has fuller access to case files and other pertinent information from the Department of Justice.

Further means to engage the communities include draft legislation on minority property sales to mitigate irregular sales, and increased involvement of the Kosovo Serb and other minority communities in the education process.

The number of appointed minority members of the communities continues to rise, including the recent assumption by a Kosovo Serb of the function of Deputy President in the Municipal Assembly of Gnjilane. This brings the number of minority Deputy Presidents to seven. A further important, positive sign was the minority community representation at the inaugural meeting of the Assembly of the Association of Kosovo Municipalities, which took place in Pristina on 30 June: of the 76 participants, 13 were representatives of the Kosovo Serb, Croat, Bosniac, Turk, Ashkali, Roma, Egyptian and Gorani communities.

Another point that I would like to touch upon is the relations with Belgrade. UNMIK continues to intensify its relations with the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to address issues of mutual concern. The recent appointment of the Deputy Serbian Prime Minister, Mr. Covic, as the Coordinator for Kosovo — an appointment that has been welcomed by UNMIK — adds a new dimension to this relationship.

A recent complicating factor, however, in UNMIK's relations with Belgrade has been the increasingly direct activity of the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and of Serbia in

Kosovo. These include attempts by the Federal Committee for Kosovo to establish its own executive taxation functions and business registration activities in Kosovo, as well as the opening of regional offices without UNMIK consent, and a humanitarian convoy organized by the Democratic Party on 14 July.

On the security and law and order issue, I would like to say that, following the formation of pillar I, the police and justice pillar, better coordination is evident in the crucial fight against organized crime and extremist violence. Links with the Kosovo Force (KFOR) continue to improve with the development of a Joint Security Initiative intended to explore how KFOR might assist further in law and order issues. Eleven cases are now pending trial on the basis of regulation 2001/7, on the authorization of possession of weapons in Kosovo. In addition to the consolidation of pillar I, work continues on several other key law-and-order initiatives: a draft regulation on organized crime; the establishment of the Kosovo Serious Crimes Bureau; a witness protection programme; the operational system to handle police informants; and plans to establish a Kosovo-wide crime hotline.

The Department of Justice is preparing for the deployment of five new international judges and prosecutors, bringing the total to 22. UNMIK continues to seek to double the existing number of 17 international judicial personnel to alleviate the increased caseload of sensitive cases. There is continuing concern about the lack of prison space. Currently, the number of prisoners is increasing by 60 persons per month. Should the number of prisoners detained by the courts remain at present levels, penal capacity will be exhausted in three months. UNMIK is considering several potential solutions for this problem.

UNMIK's efforts to bolster the indigenous police force continue, with the first promotion of first-line supervisors in the Kosovo Police Service taking place at the end of June. The first batch of promotions included 28 sergeants and one lieutenant-colonel. A further six lieutenant-colonels are due to be promoted at the beginning of August.

On Mitrovica, another sensitive place in Kosovo, as the Council may know, at a meeting of the North Atlantic Council (NAC), at which both the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the Commander of KFOR were present, the NAC endorsed UNMIK's and KFOR's joint efforts to develop a comprehensive strategy for Mitrovica, building on the principles described to the Security Council during its mission to Kosovo in mid-June. The strategy will entail concrete measures in a number of key areas: local government and public administration; security; economic development and job creation; returns; and general confidence-building measures. An integral part of the strategy will be a cooperative relationship and political dialogue with Belgrade, as well as consultations with the Kosovo Albanian leadership.

On the general issue of economic development I would like to stress that key to the functioning of the provisional self-government will be a sound financial foundation. With a view to handing over a balanced budget to the provisional self-government in 2002, the economic reconstruction pillar has developed several strategies to generate revenue and encourage a functioning market economy. Part of this is the reinvigoration of State and socially owned enterprises. Another part was the introduction on 1 July of value-added tax, which will be supplemented at the beginning of 2002 by a property tax.

I would like to say a few words on the situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The situation there continues to be of great concern to UNMIK. The Mission's effort to reduce the influence of members of ethnic Albanian armed groups operating from Kosovo has proved effective, with over 300 people arrested to date under the provisions of the regulation on the prohibition of unauthorized border/boundary crossings. A further effort to stem the support for the National Liberation Army coming from Kosovo was the decision of the Special Representative at the beginning of July to suspend five senior members of the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC) who had been blacklisted in the United States executive order.

As of 16 July, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimated that approximately 62,000 registered refugees remain in Kosovo, while some 12,000 have returned. At the moment, the number of arrivals outweighs the number of returnees, with many leaving Skopje as a precautionary measure while awaiting the outcome of the negotiations ongoing in Skopje. The fluctuating numbers reflect continuing uncertainty over peace prospects in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Host families in Kosovo have now reached

their absorption capacity in the Gnjilane area, where most of the refugees are settling. UNHCR is considering redirecting future influxes to other regions.

On 24 July, the Government of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia decided to close the border with Kosovo at the Blace border crossing for United Nations organizations and KFOR. Indeed, as with the earlier closure of the border in March this year, UNMIK is making representations to the authorities of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, as this decision imposes severe restrictions on the implementation of UNMIK's mandate.

To conclude, I should like to stress that continuing progress on planning the transition to provisional self-government, confidence-building measures and consolidation in the field of law and order over the past month has been a valuable contribution to UNMIK's goal of laying a solid foundation for Kosovo-wide elections later in the year. We are very pleased that four Kosovo Serb parties have decided to certify for the elections and again urge the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to unequivocally encourage participation in the elections as a means to undercut extremism, reduce inter-ethnic tensions and stake the rightful claim of the Kosovo Serb community to participate in the political process.

Now that some Kosovo Serb parties have taken the decision to certify for the elections, there is an even greater onus to ensure that the Kosovo Serb community sees that tangible benefits derive from this cooperation in the UNMIK-led process. It takes time for some projects to take root and for advantages to be seen. We must work to ensure that the programmes UNMIK is implementing at all levels to solicit the participation of the minority communities continue, as only through persistence will these goals be achieved.

Mr. Gatilov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): We are grateful to Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his detailed briefing on the situation in the region and the work of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).

We note the efforts made by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Kosovo, Mr. Haekkerup, and the Mission he heads to re-establish normalcy in the province. We welcome steps to develop dialogue between UNMIK and the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We anticipate further intensification of that cooperation on all matters, without exception, relating to the implementation of resolution 1244 (1999). We would emphasize yet again that it is only through solid interaction with Belgrade that the Mission can discharge its mandate. In that context, we stress the need for the signing with Belgrade of an agreement on the status of UNMIK and the Kosovo Force (KFOR).

One of the key issues now — as Mr. Guéhenno stressed in his briefing — is preparation for the Kosovo-wide elections. The task of ensuring that they are truly democratic and representative is ineluctably linked to the need for their careful preparation, with the active participation of Belgrade. First, security conditions must be established to ensure an equal footing for all ethnic communities in the province, without exception, and to guarantee them genuine freedom of expression and fair participation in the new organs of self-government. It is important that proper security conditions be established prior to the elections and that a steady process of return for refugees and displaced persons be under way.

We are seriously concerned over the ongoing absence of any real progress in identifying the fate of the 1,300 missing Serbs and other non-Albanian inhabitants of Kosovo. Inaction on this matter merely confirms the argument over unilateral humanism in respect of Kosovo Albanians and indicates a lack of willingness to heed appeals for assistance made by the relatives of missing non-Albanian inhabitants of the province. We urge that the matter be resolved as soon as possible.

We feel that we must recall the main achievement of the June visit by members of the Security Council to Kosovo: a clearly stated demand to UNMIK, KFOR and all the political leaders in Kosovo for full and comprehensive implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999), especially in respect of security for minorities.

Another serious problem that remains unresolved is the disarmament of combatants and the elimination of their illegal armed units. Literally every day, we hear reports of the discovery of weaponry in the province. As was noted by Principal Deputy Special Representative Matthews at the recent meeting of the Secretary-General's Group of Friends of Kosovo, it is not a question of nineteenth-century muskets, but of very modern types of weapons. We would expect that the arrangements recently made by the head of UNMIK

to combat the illegal ownership of arms and illegal crossings of the external and administrative borders of Kosovo and to fight against terrorism will truly help to solve the problem.

UNMIK and KFOR have taken certain steps to halt provocation raids by Albanian fighters beyond the borders of the province. These efforts, however, must be stepped up. It is now absolutely essential for the international presences to take effective and immediate steps to halt the expansion of Albanian extremism beyond Kosovo and to preserve stability in the Balkans.

We are very disturbed by reports that, in connection with the crisis in Macedonia, a large group of Albanian fighters in Kosovo are awaiting orders to invade that country. This cannot be allowed. We expect the leadership of UNMIK, in close cooperation with KFOR, to take additional steps to complete the genuine demilitarization and disarmament of former fighters of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), to deprive the post-KLA structures of any ability to influence the political situation and to halt illegal cross-border deliveries of weapons to extremists. One task of particular urgency today is the strict implementation of Security Council resolution 1160 (1998) on the arms embargo in Kosovo.

We have drawn attention to the UNMIK decision to suspend the powers of five leading members of the Kosovo Protection Corps (KPC) who are suspected of engaging in subversive activities in Macedonia, and to arrest Major Saramati, the commander of a KPC brigade accused of undertaking activities threatening the international presences in Kosovo. We must stress once again the inadmissibility of a situation in which such individuals are among those cooperating with UNMIK on behalf of the KPC.

We would like once again to warn very seriously against any attempts to resolve the problem of the reintegration of Kosovo Mitrovica by force under the pretext that the status quo is inadmissible and that the situation needs to be resolved before the elections. Mr. Guéhenno spoke of this matter in his briefing to us. Any attempt in Mitrovica to use force or to speed up the Albanization of the region would be fraught with the most dangerous consequences: a flare-up of violence throughout northern Kosovo; the forcing out of the Serbs from that part of the province; and, in the final analysis, their complete exodus from Kosovo.

The solution can only be a political, comprehensive and carefully monitored one, and the basis for it must be a strengthening of the trust between the Serb and Albanian communities. In this context, we take note of the proposals to involve Serbian representatives from the parallel structures in UNMIK's police work in Mitrovica.

Overall, to stabilize the Balkans, we need approaches based primarily on the political will of the States in the region and on active assistance from the international community. That is the objective of the Russian initiative to convene a Balkan summit so that States of the region could conclude a legally binding agreement setting forth their mutual commitments to strictly abide by the basic principles of inter-State relations.

The signal from the international community must be clear and unambiguous. There can be absolutely no further redrawing of borders in Europe, including in the Balkans. It is essential to establish a solid and effective barrier to any kind of extremism, national intolerance or religious fanaticism. Those who try to resolve extremely complex problems of a national or religious nature by force of arms must be well aware that they will receive no support from the international community.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to thank Mr. Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, for the information he has presented to us this morning.

We would like on this occasion to follow up on a few matters that were dealt with by the Council a month ago as a result of the Council's mission to the field: mainly, the security situation, the preparations for the elections and the problem of missing persons.

With respect to security, I have to say that a month ago we had great expectations of the impact that the implementation of the three legislative initiatives would have, as well as the establishment by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) of a new police and justice pillar. We know, of course, that a month is not long enough to implement these measures. We are grateful for the valuable information that has been provided us by Mr. Guéhenno on the effectiveness that is being demonstrated in the area of combating organized crime, due precisely to the establishment of this new pillar.

As Mr. Haekkerup has said, the question of the refugees who are entering Kosovo from Macedonia is a source of serious concern. This is a potential problem that could affect the internal stability of Kosovo. Indeed, a greater number of people are coming from Macedonia than are going to it, thus the number of refugees in Kosovo is increasing. In addition, they are coming to regions or cities whose capacity to receive them has reached its limit. This situation calls for the attention of the international community, and we must take due note of it.

As concerns the elections, the main concern that we all have is to ensure that participation includes all of the minority groups, especially the Serb community. In order to achieve this, UNMIK intends to tackle various aspects of this issue, inter alia, the improvement of relations with Belgrade; the improvement of security conditions for the return of refugees; and the development of mechanisms for the registration of the population.

That is why we would like to highlight the importance of the signing of the memorandum of understanding between the International Organization for Migration and the Serbian Commission for Refugees, as well as the signing next Monday of an agreement between the International Organization for Migration and the Montenegrin Commissioner for Refugees in Montenegro. These agreements raise the possibility that the more than 200,000 Kosovars who, it is estimated, live in Serbia and Montenegro, will be able to take part in the elections that will take place in November.

I must also stress the new status that has been given to the Commissioner for Kosovo by the Government of Belgrade. This would seem to indicate that positive advances will continue to be made in these relations, which are essential for stability in the region.

As concerns the question of missing persons, we would like to stress the importance of the signing of the memorandum of understanding between UNMIK and the International Committee for Missing Persons. This will make it possible to begin DNA tests, so that we are able to identify the remains of various people.

When we visited Kosovo, one of the aspects mentioned by the various communities — with great sorrow and strong emphasis — was the need to raise the question of missing persons and detainees on a priority basis, because it gives rose to other problems that can be resolved if we begin with the question of missing persons. We therefore commend the actions undertaken by UNMIK, and we hope that it will continue to work with dedication to ensure that this uncertainty, which affects a large number of families of missing persons, can be overcome.

Finally, I would like to stress the cooperation that has existed in recent weeks with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia. We hope that this cooperation will continue on the part of all of the countries.

Mr. Doutriaux (France) *(spoke in French)*: Belgium will speak later on behalf of the European Union, so at this point I would just like to offer a few comments.

First, I would like to thank Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno for the briefing he has given us on the situation in Kosovo. The adoption of the Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government of Kosovo and the upcoming Kosovo-wide elections next 17 November offer the necessary political prospects for democracy and stability in Kosovo.

Today it is the duty of all parties concerned, with assistance from the international community's involvement in Kosovo, to ensure the success of the elections. That success will depend primarily on the participation of all of the inhabitants of Kosovo, regardless of what communities they belong to. Belgrade's support for registration by Kosovo Serbs and the decision, mentioned by Mr. Guéhenno, of four Serb parties to register with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe are very positive developments. We hope that continued dialogue between Belgrade and the Serb community in Kosovo, and the initiatives and efforts under way on security issues, questions of missing persons and return of refugees, will all help to convince the Kosovo Serbs that full and complete participation will serve their own interests as well as peaceful coexistence and stability in Kosovo.

In this connection, I have a few questions for Mr. Guéhenno. A recent statement by the Yugoslav Committee on Kosovo indicated that, according to that Committee, the conditions for Serb participation in the elections are absolutely non-existent. I would like to hear Mr. Guéhenno's comments on this statement.

Above and beyond the preparations for the elections and the vote, it must be possible for the peaceful discussion of views and the free expression of democratic choices to be carried out in an atmosphere of security. I think that the recent adoption of regulations against crime and the establishment of the police and justice pillar that Mr. Guéhenno spoke about are useful measures, and we must encourage them. It is now a question of ensuring full implementation and effective functioning. We have to continue to step up our work against crime and against extremists.

My third comment is on Mitrovica, about which Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno spoke, as did Ambassador Gatilov. Mitrovica is an important problem, as Mr. Guéhenno said. The situation in Mitrovica cannot improve without the implementation of the comprehensive strategy that he spoke about, which would involve all of the communities and actors concerned, beginning with the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). In that way we would be able to tackle the causes of the problem in Mitrovica and not just the manifestations of the problem.

Fourthly, like other speakers, I would like to speak briefly on the situation in Macedonia. The recent developments there are very disturbing. We have condemned the confrontations of the last few days, and we call on the parties to scrupulously and fully respect the ceasefire agreed to on 5 July last. We call on the parties to demonstrate a very high level of responsibility, with a view to ensuring the success of the ongoing dialogue. There is no other option. Only a political solution can ensure a democratic and multi-ethnic future for all citizens of Macedonia. Mr. Guéhenno spoke about what the Kosovo Force (KFOR) and UNMIK were doing on the border between Kosovo and Macedonia, and in a way this was a response to Ambassador Gatilov's concerns. But KFOR and UNMIK must certainly do even more to ensure that the border between Kosovo and Macedonia is truly and completely under control so that there can be no illegal arms traffic to feed the conflict in Macedonia.

Mr. Cunningham (United States of America): I want to thank the Under-Secretary-General for the briefing. It is good to have an update and to check on the progress being made since our trip to Kosovo last month. Indeed, it is clear that while there is still much work to be done, there is progress being made, and we are gratified to hear that.

When we went to Kosovo, the most important message that the Council wanted to send was of the importance of the full implementation of resolution 1244 (1999). That is still the most important message, and I think we can see that progress is being made in all areas.

We also talked a lot during our trip about measures to reduce violence, including getting the new pillar I off the ground, the new security regulations and urging local leaders to publicly condemn the use of violence. I think we can see from Mr. Guéhenno's briefing that progress is being made in this regard, and we welcome that.

I also want to stress my Government's strong support for the recent decision by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) to extend the executive hold on the three suspects captured in relation to the Nis Express bus bombing. This is a topic that President Bush raised with Special Representative Haekkerup, and we urge UNMIK to form a special panel of international judges to review the available evidence — if that is the legally correct way to ensure that those suspected of such a shameful act do not walk free.

The Council mission also supported the political process, autonomous self-government, the legal framework, elections and, most specifically, Serb participation in that process and in those elections. I think we all understood and stressed that a multi-ethnic Kosovo will be possible only if all communities can and do participate in the process. So we are particularly gratified to have word that four Kosovo Serb political parties have registered for the elections. That is an important positive step, and we hope that other elements of the Serb community will take that step as well, and that they will participate.

Another major focus is how to support the rights of minorities in a multi-ethnic Kosovo, which includes the questions of Serb returns, adequate security, infrastructure and minority communities. We also wanted to promote the development of good working relationships with the Yugoslav authorities by UNMIK and the Kosovo Force (KFOR), which is an important element in realizing those goals. That cooperation is important. I think this is yet another area where we can see progress and commend the efforts of UNMIK and the Yugoslav authorities to continue a dialogue on how to move forward.

As Jean-Marie Guéhenno did, I cannot finish my statement without moving slightly off-theme to mention the situation in the neighbouring former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Recent violence there is of great concern to my country. The ceasefire is an open-ended commitment and is crucial to providing the atmosphere for a political dialogue. The use by armed extremists of the ceasefire to improve their military positions is reprehensible and unacceptable. We applaud efforts by UNMIK and KFOR to improve control of movement across the border between Kosovo and Macedonia. At this crucial juncture, all sides, including the Government of Macedonia, must exercise restraint and respect the ceasefire agreements. The only solution is a political solution. All will lose, the region will lose, if war is the choice instead of peace. The United States is urging the Macedonian Government and the party leaders to continue negotiations and to reach an agreement that addresses the concerns of all sides, respects the rights of all the people of Macedonia and preserves Macedonia's territorial integrity and sovereignty. We believe that such an agreement is possible, and it is certainly necessary.

Mr. Ryan (Ireland): We are grateful for today's comprehensive further briefing from Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno and the opportunity given by today's meeting to review recent developments.

I join Ambassador Doutriaux in observing that Belgium, as Presidency of the European Union, will make a statement later in today's debate. Ireland subscribes fully to the position of the European Union in that statement, and I make the following points in my national capacity.

All communities in Kosovo must realize and accept that the only possible future for Kosovo is as a multi-ethnic society based on respect for minority rights and for human rights. When we discussed Kosovo last month, Mr. Guéhenno noted that our key task was to involve all communities in the political process. The Kosovar Albanians must respect the rights of minorities, and those communities must, as the Under-Secretary-General put it, "accept the risk of participation" (*S/PV.4335, p. 4*).

The November elections will present the people of Kosovo with a crucial opportunity to elect legitimate interlocutors to represent their interests. We note with great satisfaction the support of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for the registration of Serbs in Kosovo, and we welcome recent efforts undertaken by Serb parties towards registration, with four parties now registered.

We are encouraged by those developments, but more needs to be done. Kosovar Serbs must register for the elections in larger numbers before the 9 September deadline. It would be most desirable for their leaders to continue to signal their wholehearted commitment to and support for participation. That will not happen easily, and there is an onus on Kosovar parties and on civic leaders to do all possible to encourage a positive climate for Serb participation. The Serb population has to be enabled to believe that it is in its overall long-term interest to take part.

In encouraging that environment, the Council should sustain its strong message that all terrorist activity must cease. Equally, we insist that all ethnic-Albanian representatives must clearly distance themselves from violence.

It is essential to make further early and quantifiable progress in the security area, including with respect to the illegal importation and trafficking of weapons and the recovery of existing illegally held weapons. In that regard, we welcome the establishment of the new police and justice pillar and the promulgation of three regulations of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). We are grateful and gratified to hear from Mr. Guéhenno of early Pillar-I action. We look forward to hearing further of UNMIK's plans to resolve the growing penal capacity problem.

Ireland welcomes the opening of the UNMIK Office in Belgrade and the various meetings between the Special Representative and President Kostunica. We believe that the Mission must engage in even closer liaison with the Administration in Belgrade, including on conditions that could lead to the return of refugees and internally displaced persons.

A comprehensive strategy is essential to address the problems of Mitrovica, and we welcome Mr. Guéhenno's outline of such a strategy this morning. That strategy will, of course, need to include political, social and religious elements. The parallel structures in northern Mitrovica must be removed. The economic situation will also need to be improved systematically and steadily, as elsewhere in Kosovo. I agree very much with Mr. Guéhenno on the importance of progress under the economic-reconstruction pillar.

It was clear to the participants in the recent Security Council mission that the lack of progress in relation to missing persons is a source of great contention for both communities. Progress must be made on this. In that regard, we welcome the announcement yesterday that the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Haekkerup, had signed a memorandum of understanding with the International Committee for Missing Persons on the DNA testing of hitherto unidentified human remains. The sensitivity of that issue cannot be underestimated, nor can its central importance with regard to the wider promotion of justice.

Since we last discussed Kosovo in this Chamber, former President Milosevic has been placed under the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, in The Hague. In our discussions of conflicts around the world — indeed, as recently as the discussion of the Democratic Republic of the Congo here on Tuesday, 24 July — we have asserted that those guilty of crimes against humanity, of genocide or of grievous violations of humanitarian law cannot and will not escape justice. There can be no impunity. The arraignment of Mr. Milosevic underlines the importance to all the countries of the region of their obligation to, and also their interest in, cooperating fully with the Tribunal.

I join other members and Mr. Guéhenno in stressing that we are also following with concern the unfolding events in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In the context of the visit today of the European Union High Representative, Javier Solana, of the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, George Robertson, and of the Chairman-in-Office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Romanian Foreign Minister Mircea Dan Geoana, we call again on all the parties to negotiate in good faith and with determination, with the clear objective of achieving a realistic, equitable and peaceful settlement.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): We warmly thank the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations for an excellent briefing. Like our European partners, the United Kingdom fully endorses the statement which the representative of Belgium will later make on behalf of the European Union, not least in our collective support for the excellent work which the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Haekkerup, is doing in implementing resolution 1244 (1999) in all its aspects.

Mr. Guéhenno outlined a number of welcome developments, including especially on preparations for the elections. I want to highlight two key areas of continuing concern. The first is progress on law enforcement, and the second is developing contacts between the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and Belgrade.

On law enforcement, we very much welcome UNMIK's development of a professional police and justice cadre in Kosovo, and their efficiency in implementing regulations aimed at stamping out terrorism. We welcome particularly the recent arrest by the Kosovo Force (KFOR) of individuals caught possessing illegal weapons and illegally crossing Kosovo's borders. UNMIK and KFOR must both continue to address the holes in the framework of regulations to ensure that extremists have no room to operate. That applies to both sides of the community: a British Foreign Office minister was recently in Kosovo, and emphasized to Kosovo Albanian leaders that extremism and ethnically motivated violence had to stop because it undermines the responsible work of legitimate ethnic-Albanian politicians in the region. Small groups of armed Albanians cannot and should not be allowed to plunge other parts of the region into chaos.

On contacts between UNMIK and Belgrade, I think this was one of the most important areas where our mission last month had an effect. We welcome the appointment of the Serbian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Covic, as Belgrade's coordinator on Kosovo, because his involvement will be vital in many areas, including three in particular. The first is Mitrovica, where we look to Belgrade to use its influence positively to help resolve the situation. This is a crucial test of progress in establishing a multi-ethnic society in Kosovo.

The second is participation in the elections. Here, we welcome the decision of 12 minority parties to register; now they must participate. Individuals too must register to vote. It is important that all communities participate in the elections to ensure that their interests are reflected in the new institutions.

The third area is missing persons and detainees. We very much welcome the fact that a contact group of UNMIK and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on missing persons met for the first time on 19 June. That

group must be encouraged to continue its work in this difficult but crucial area.

Finally, since there is such a huge amount to do in a difficult environment, I want to echo the concerns about the situation in Macedonia that have been uttered by Ambassadors Doutriaux, Cunningham, Ryan and others. I will not repeat them; I share what they have said about the situation there. The Council is clearly going to have to keep a very close eye on developments.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): First of all, Mr. President, let me thank you for organizing this open debate on Kosovo. We believe that the exchanges that have taken place so far have been very useful. Those exchanges were preceded by a very extensive and useful briefing by the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, Mr. Guéhenno, and we thank him for it.

As we are having this open briefing today, we see that the international community remains committed to stability and peace in the Balkans. That is reassuring for us all, including the peoples of the Balkans and the inhabitants of Kosovo.

We in the Security Council should continue to remain actively involved in pursuing the full and effective implementation of resolution 1244 (1999). The Council should remain attentive to the support needed by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) to carry out its mission successfully.

There have also been positive developments. We welcome the increased cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia: the handing over or surrender of the indictees. The remaining persons wanted for war crimes and crimes against humanity need to be brought before the Tribunal in The Hague. The wounds of the Balkan wars will not be healed without accountability and justice.

Having been in the area only recently, having confronted the realities, hearing the views of all sides, we Council members have together drawn certain conclusions. We presented these formally on 19 June here in the Council and deliberated on those important issues during our public meeting on 22 June. It is important that we continue to flag those points and underscore the need to follow up on them.

I would like to recall some of the main findings and conclusions of the Council mission, as follows. It is important that UNMIK continue to receive sustained support and resources from the international community. The political process has to be taken forward, in accordance with Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). The promulgation of the Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government has been an important step in the implementation of that resolution.

The 17 November Kosovo-wide elections are of crucial importance. The elections will enhance the democratic process in Kosovo and the stability of the region. Secure conditions for the elections should be ensured. The participation of all communities in the elections, the return of refugees and displaced persons and their participation in the elections should be encouraged. The Kosovo Force (KFOR) should regularly provide detailed information including about the origin, type and quantity of weapons seized, in order to enable the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1160 (1998) to pursue any possible violations. Intensified efforts should be made regarding the issue of detainees and persons of all communities who are missing, which continues to be a major impediment to reconciliation. A comprehensive strategy should be developed to resolve the complex situation in Mitrovica, with emphasis on the need for multi-ethnic initiatives in the social, economic and religious areas in order to start rebuilding confidence between the communities. As economic development would make a major contribution to stabilization, additional funding needs to be found to continue the projects of the village employment and rehabilitation programme, which have proved an effective tool for inter-ethnic economic cooperation.

It is important that the majority ensure that the rights of the minority communities are respected. In turn, minority communities, too, must realize that there is no alternative to establishing a multi-ethnic society. The Kosovo Serb community in particular must integrate into the structures being set up by UNMIK, rather than attempt to set up parallel structures. UNMIK must continue and enhance its dialogue with the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, whose influence in Kosovo is crucial for the implementation of resolution 1244 (1999).

Today these important elements remain as valid as when they were presented. It is important that all

Kosovars, irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds, accept the framework established under resolution 1244 (1999) and contribute to the full implementation of the resolution. They should learn to live together. This means reconciliation, tolerance and mutual accommodation. It means they have only one option: building a multi-ethnic Kosovo through a culture of peace. To this end, the representation of different communities in the interim institutions is essential. Therefore, the successful holding of elections in Kosovo is a most important challenge for UNMIK. The process should be owned by the people of Kosovo. The civil registration process must receive the necessary cooperation.

The role of civil society in building confidence, helping reconciliation and fostering greater tolerance is well recognized. In this connection, I recall our meeting with the representatives of women's non-governmental organizations in Kosovo. As part of civil society, they are engaged in reaching people across the ethnic divide. They should receive the support of UNMIK and encouragement from the international community. This would not only help in the effective implementation of 1244 (1999); it would also be in conformity with Council resolution 1325 (2000).

Let me conclude by commending UNMIK, under the leadership of Special Representative of the Secretary-General Haekkerup, for its very important work for peace and stability in Kosovo.

Miss Durrant (Jamaica): Let me begin by thanking Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his briefing, which has provided a useful update on the issues identified in the report on the Security Council's mission to Kosovo and Belgrade in mid-June.

National reconciliation, economic reconstruction and the preparations for elections are all part of the process which we hope will lead to a stable and multi-ethnic Kosovo. In this regard, Mr. Guéhenno has rightly emphasized that the activities of pillar 1 and increased cooperation between the Kosovo Force (KFOR) and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) provide a basis for improving law and order and security for all the people of Kosovo. My delegation also attaches importance to the development of a sound working relationship between UNMIK and the Belgrade authorities, as key to the full implementation of resolution 1244 (1999).

At our briefing last month we encouraged UNMIK to continue to focus on the implementation of initiatives that would provide for greater protection of the minority communities, encourage the participation of these communities in the political process and facilitate a greater return of refugees and internally displaced persons. It is clear that the problem of missing persons continues to be an issue that causes anxiety for the people of Kosovo and one that hinders our progress towards reconciliation. We are therefore pleased to hear that the Contact Group is now meeting on a fortnightly basis, and we can only hope that the efforts aimed at locating missing persons and the identification of missing persons after exhumation will add to the climate of stability. We are pleased that UNMIK police are about to begin work on the exhumation of grave sites, and we urge the speedy implementation of the memorandum of understanding signed between UNMIK and the International Commission on Missing Persons to begin DNA testing on unidentified bodies. We support the work of the forensic experts, and we hope that more will be sent by those countries which are able to assist in this important work.

Secondly, on the issue of refugee returns, we agree with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General that successful and sustainable returns require a safe and secure environment with an acceptable level of freedom of movement for returnees. They also require inter-ethnic dialogue among political and community leaders to build confidence among communities and a substantial commitment of resources by the international community. We therefore feel that reconciliation efforts must coincide with those aimed at economic reconstruction and the creation of a viable and sustainable economic basis in Kosovo.

The issue of property sales is also essential in ensuring the peaceful coexistence of ethnic groups in Kosovo. We have read reports of the sale of minority housing, and it has been indicated that this appears to be a guise for ethnic cleansing. We support the steps being taken by UNMIK to address this problem and welcome the draft regulation on the registration of contracts for the sale of real property in specific geographic areas of Kosovo. We hope that this regulation will halt what is perceived as unfair treatment of vulnerable communities.

The conflict in the neighbouring former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia also continues to have an

impact on the situation in Kosovo. Mr. Guéhenno reported that some 62,000 refugees from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia remain in Kosovo, while some 12,000 have returned to their home country. We certainly hope that this situation will be stabilized. It is one which requires close watching by the Council.

On the situation of law and order, my delegation is appreciative of the efforts of UNMIK to improve law and order and reduce crime and violence. The reports of UNMIK's recent discovery of more caches of military weapons and ammunition is something that my delegation is very concerned about. We believe that it is important that UNMIK and the Kosovo Force (KFOR) continue their disarmament efforts and their monitoring of the borders. With the consolidation of pillar I and other initiatives highlighted by Mr. Guéhenno, we hope that additional progress will be made to interdict weapons.

In closing, I wish to inform the Council, in my capacity as Chairperson of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1160, that the Committee has taken steps to send a formal request to KFOR to regularly provide detailed information, including that pertaining to the origin, type and quantity of weapons seized, in order to enable the Committee to pursue any possible violations. We look forward to receiving the cooperation promised by KFOR during the Security Council's mission last month.

Mr. Koonjul (Mauritius): We are most grateful to Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his very comprehensive briefing on the recent developments in Kosovo. Despite multiple political, economic and security concerns, the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) has made considerable progress in the implementation of its mandate. We pay tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Hans Haekkerup, for his very able leadership of UNMIK. We believe that they have a tremendous responsibility, and we feel that they are assuming it very well.

We commend the relentless efforts of UNMIK in maintaining peace in extremely difficult situations. With the promulgation of the Constitutional Framework, UNMIK's involvement in ensuring its effective implementation remains crucial. Of the very many challenges facing UNMIK, the registration of all the minority communities, including the Serbs, and securing their participation in the forthcoming November elections in Kosovo are among the top priorities.

We note with concern that some Serb leaders are reluctant to participate in the registration process and have in fact hardened their radical positions. We refer in particular to the Serb National Council-Gracanica. We call on the Serb community to engage itself fully in the political process, which remains the only way for it to protect and promote its interests and jointly shape the destiny of Kosovo. We also urge it to cooperate fully with UNMIK and participate in the Joint Interim Administrative Structure.

The Kosovo Albanians, for their part, must respect the rights of the minority communities and create a safe and secure environment conducive to inter-ethnic dialogue.

Mauritius notes with satisfaction that the Kosovo Turkish community, which did not participate in last year's municipal elections, has now committed itself to participating in the Kosovo-wide elections.

We deplore the incidents and upsurge of violence in the Mitrovica and Pristina regions, where a number of people have been injured and where aid personnel from the international community have been targeted.

We do, however, welcome the promulgation of legislation to combat organized crime, illegal weapons possession and terrorism. The establishment of the new pillar I will further strengthen the law enforcement and criminal justice systems in Kosovo. With these positive changes, and barring other mishaps, we may reasonably hope for a democratic, stable and peaceful Kosovo society in the near future.

We welcome the improvement of relations between the UNMIK team and the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. President Kostunica's offer to work closely with UNMIK for a multi-ethnic Kosovo society during the Council's mission to Belgrade is indeed a great leap forward in the reconciliation process. With the opening of the UNMIK office in Belgrade, dialogue and cooperation on issues of mutual concern will be enhanced. Consequent closer collaboration between the Kosovo Force (KFOR), the UNMIK police and the Yugoslav police should ensure a safe and secure environment for the return of the minority communities to their homeland. The Yugoslav authorities should continue to play an important role in

persuading the Kosovo Serb community to participate in the UNMIK-led process and to register themselves for the forthcoming elections.

We note with regret that the issue of the missing Serbs has seen little development. We welcome the signing between UNMIK and the international community of the memorandum of understanding on the missing persons with a view to identifying the missing persons through DNA testing. The Serb community should be given every assurance that the international community is committed to finding the truth about the missing persons. We call on the Kosovo Albanian leaders to cooperate with UNMIK to address this problem. This is very important to build the necessary confidence and feeling of security among the Serbs.

Likewise, the handing over of detainees to Kosovo remains to be completed. Though some of them have been returned by the Yugoslav authorities, there are still more, including children, women and elders, who are held in Serbia. We call on the Yugoslav authorities to accelerate the process of handing over all the remaining detainees to UNMIK, which, in turn, will ensure the review of their cases.

Kosovo has been the scene of great human tragedy. Thousands of people, including women and children, have been killed mercilessly. Thanks to the prompt intervention of the international community, we have been able to stop this tragedy. It is now time to build peace and reconstruct the economy in a climate of justice, fair play and tolerance, where each ethnic community can live free of fear and in harmony.

Coming from Mauritius, we know that this is possible. We exhort the international community to support this process fully.

Mr. Kulyk (Ukraine): I would like to thank Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his comprehensive and informative briefing, which gives us a clear update of the developments on the ground. My delegation acknowledges the progress in the implementation of the Constitutional Framework and in the preparation of the Kosovo-wide elections.

Moreover, we note the reduction of the level of tension in the province. In our view, this has been achieved by the result-oriented efforts of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), the return of the forces of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the ground safety zone and the activities of the Kosovo Force. However, additional progress in this field is challenged by further critical problems that remain unresolved. Let me highlight some of these questions.

First is the issue of ensuring a safe and secure environment for the sustainable return of Kosovo Serbs to the region. My delegation welcomes and supports the recent statement of Special Representative Haekkerup on three key elements — a safe and secure environment, enhanced inter-ethnic dialogue and a substantial commitment of international resources — that should be in place to ensure successful returns. At the same time, we believe that the latest worried comments of the Serb authorities would clearly be best answered by practical results. In this context, we would be grateful for comprehensive information from UNMIK on the dynamics of returns, the time perspectives and major difficulties involved towards that objective.

Secondly, my delegation attaches particular importance to pillar I and UNMIK's efforts aimed at promoting an effective law enforcement and judicial system. We applaud UNMIK activities to reduce ethnically targeted crime and political violence and its progress in developing the Kosovo Police Service. We consider the implementation of legislation to deal with illegal border and boundary crossings, illegal weapons possession and weapons trafficking to be a step of the highest importance. That is why we would appreciate any comments on UNMIK's evaluation of the implementation process and of possible additional steps to enhance cooperation with the Yugoslav authorities in this practical field.

Thirdly, I should like to touch on the humanitarian issue. The continuing flow of refugees from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia poses a serious threat to the general security situation in Kosovo. We believe that the measures taken by the international community to face this challenge should be redoubled. In particular, we count on UNMIK's vision of the practical ways that can help to improve the situation.

Speaking of the regional dimension of the Kosovo issue, we attach particular importance to the current situation in Macedonia. We strongly condemn the military activities of the Albanian extremist armed groups, their terrorist attacks against Macedonian

soldiers and their acts of violence against civilians, which have claimed the lives of dozens of innocent people. My country reconfirms its full support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Macedonia and supports measures taken by the Macedonian Government in this regard. At the same time, in our view, there can be no military solution to the present crisis and we urge the parties concerned to seek the settlement of the crisis through political means.

Mr. Kolby (Norway): Norway would like to reiterate its support for the work done by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), led by Special Representative Haekkerup, and the Kosovo Force (KFOR), led by General Skiaker, to implement Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). However, the international community, as well as local leaders, must intensify their efforts to create conditions for a multi-ethnic, peaceful and democratic Kosovo for all. Serbs and other non-Albanians in the province have seen few signs of improvement with regard to the security situation, possibilities for return and the resolution of missing persons cases.

Successful elections in November will depend on an improvement of the security situation, especially for non-Albanians. This is necessary in order to ensure the widest possible participation in the elections. We trust that UNMIK will do everything in its power to facilitate meaningful minority participation. Furthermore, we expect the leaders of the Kosovo Albanians to cooperate fully in these undertakings. Their readiness to assume responsibility in the period prior to the elections will indicate their readiness to assume responsibilities also following the elections.

At the same time, we count on Serb leaders in Belgrade, as well as in Kosovo, to show support for UNMIK's endeavours to implement Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). In this respect, we welcome the positive attitude of President Kostunica regarding Kosovo Serb participation in civil registration. We stress the importance of continued cooperation between UNMIK and Belgrade in this process and we welcome the appointment of Serb Deputy Prime Minister Covic as state coordinator for Kosovo. The international community expects the authorities in Belgrade to encourage Kosovo Serb participation in the elections.

Creating security and conditions for the return of all refugees and internally displaced persons to Kosovo must also be given priority. The United Nations and KFOR cannot do this alone. Kosovar leaders should demonstrate increased political will to establish a multi-ethnic society which is ready for meaningful self-rule in accordance with Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). There seems to be scope for improvement in the efforts of the representatives of the international community to determine the fate of the many missing Serbs in Kosovo. However, Kosovo Albanians and their leaders ought to be far more cooperative in order to facilitate these efforts.

Norway welcomes the extradition of the former President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic, to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague. This is yet another sign that the democratic authorities in Belgrade are working systematically and are determined to settle the accounts of the country's recent past and to bring Yugoslavia back to normal international cooperation. This we welcome.

I wish to say a few words on the Macedonian crisis. The Macedonian crisis cannot be resolved militarily. Sustainable peace will require a political solution. The political leadership needs to take great responsibility for the peace process. This requires increased willingness to compromise. Experience to date shows a great need for continued international engagement. The close cooperation between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union is very positive. It is of vital importance that the international community speak with one voice. NATO's decision to respond positively to President Trajkovski's request for assistance in the monitoring and disarmament process will, hopefully, facilitate the political dialogue.

Ms. Lee (Singapore): We would like to join the other delegations in thanking Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his comprehensive briefing on the recent developments in Kosovo and in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. I should like to make just two main points today.

Singapore's positions on the major issues confronting Kosovo are well known. We have articulated them several times since we joined the Security Council. Now that Kosovo-wide elections, scheduled for 17 November, are coming closer, it is even more important for all the parties involved to invigorate their efforts to make sure that the necessary conditions are in place. Of utmost importance is the

full participation and engagement of all the ethnic communities in Kosovo in the elections and in developing substantial autonomy. This includes refugees and displaced persons, who should be encouraged to return and to participate in the registration, the elections and the self-government structures. Several conditions are required. I would like to highlight four conditions which we feel are needed.

First is a secure environment where all the ethnic communities feel safe. Building on the establishment of pillar I and the promulgation of regulations against terrorism, organized crime and illegal weapons possession, the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the Kosovo Force should take steps to further improve the security situation in Kosovo. The Kosovo leadership also has a part to play in forcefully rejecting violence, extremism and terrorism. Violence against the ethnic minorities, in particular, must cease.

Second is an environment favourable to improving inter-ethnic relations and promoting reconciliation. The Kosovo leadership has an important duty in this regard, while Kosovo society must overcome the deep hatred that exists among the ethnic communities. Specifically, the Kosovo Albanian leadership has to be more forthcoming on improving the treatment of the minority communities, while the latter must be more forthcoming in integrating into the society at large.

A multi-ethnic Kosovo is clearly the only option, and both the majority and minorities in Kosovo must work towards this goal. The United Nations and the international community can only assist to push the process forward.

Third is a continuing emphasis on developing a sustainable market economy. The positive spiral effect of economic progress on Kosovo should not be underestimated. Economic growth even has an affirmative effect on the security environment in the province. But just as for reconciliation, economic development depends on the readiness of the Kosovo leadership itself to build economic sustainability in the province. In this respect, we urge the Kosovo leadership to support the work of UNMIK in relation to the strategies developed under the economic pillar.

Fourthly, it is even more important, in this crucial period, for UNMIK to have regular, direct dialogue with Belgrade. Dialogue between the Kosovo political leaders and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Government should also be encouraged. Clearly, the effective implementation of resolution 1244 (1999) requires continued communication with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Government.

The United Nations responsibility to Kosovo does not end with the elections and the establishment of the structures of provisional self-government. These are indeed significant milestones, but Kosovo's return to normalcy is likely to take more time.

Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) must be strictly implemented until an agreement on the final status of Kosovo is reached. The need for a continued and substantive United Nations presence in post-election Kosovo, supported by other international agencies and interested parties, is obvious. The duration and nature of that presence must take into account the larger political context and environment.

The peaceful resolution of the Kosovo question is integral to the security and stability of the entire Balkan region. We are of the view that the eventual termination of the United Nations presence, as in other troubled parts of the world, must be gradual and carefully structured to bolster, not undermine, the painstaking progress achieved. It is imperative that the United Nations, having begun such a major undertaking, does not terminate or draw down one mission prematurely on the simple-minded proposition that another, elsewhere, can be supported.

The fact is that demand for resources to restore international peace will always exceed supply. However, if exit strategies for operations that the United Nations has already committed to are not carefully calibrated and executed, we run the real risk of unravelling all of the achievements made. This would render the substantial investments made by the international community a total waste and seriously undermine the credibility of the United Nations. Worse, it might render necessary the expenditure of even more resources to put the pieces back together again.

Mr. Touré (Mali) (*spoke in French*): Like the delegations that have spoken before me, I should like to thank the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, for the very thorough update of the activities of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).

Despite the many problems facing UNMIK, we must acknowledge that remarkable progress has been achieved in the implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999), which aims to set up democratic, multi-ethnic institutions in Kosovo.

My comments will touch on the following points.

From a political standpoint, my delegation is grateful to Mr. Haekkerup and to the entire UNMIK staff for the tireless efforts they have been making in preparing for the general elections to be held on 17 November. We believe that the proper organization of these elections is crucial for the participation of all of the communities of Kosovo. That is why we call on all of the peoples of Kosovo to take part en masse in these elections, which constitute a vital framework to combat intransigent extremism and ethnic intolerance.

The participation of all of the communities, in particular that of the Serb minority, which boycotted the municipal elections last October, is of major concern for my delegation. We welcome the registration of the four Serb parties, and we invite UNMIK and the Kosovo Force (KFOR) to take the necessary security measures to encourage all of the Serb refugees to return home and to actively take part in the election and in the building of a multi-ethnic and democratic society in Kosovo. The development of a reliable electoral registry is necessary to move ahead the electoral process under way in Kosovo.

From a security standpoint, my delegation expresses its deep concern over the continuation of ethnic and political violence as well as organized crime in Kosovo. There is no doubt that violence against minorities in the province is perhaps the major obstacle to achieving the international community's goals of peace, democracy and prosperity in Kosovo. We strongly condemn this indiscriminate violence which is affecting minorities and which, regrettably, is the greatest obstacle to the return of refugees and internally displaced persons.

The setting up by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of Pillar 1 and the existence of legislation suppressing organized crime, the illegal possession of arms and terrorism are useful measures that could considerably improve the security conditions in Kosovo. We also support the concrete measures taken by UNMIK and KFOR concerning the monitoring of the administrative borders of Kosovo, in particular the border with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

All of the necessary measures must be taken so that Kosovo will not serve as a base for sending weapons to Albanian rebels and to the UCK. We launch an urgent appeal to the Macedonian army and to the UCK to respect the ceasefire that went into force on 5 July, and we condemn any form of violence against democracy and the rule of law.

From an economic standpoint, even though efforts have been made in this area by UNMIK, the very high unemployment rate that prevails in Kosovo as well as the fragile state of the economy are sources of concern for my delegation. We are convinced that economic development is a major element in stabilization, and therefore my delegation recommends that the international community mobilize additional funds for economic recovery programmes for villages in Kosovo.

From a humanitarian standpoint, the situation of thousands of Albanian refugees from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia who are fleeing confrontations between Macedonian forces and Albanian extremists and who have found refuge in Kosovo are a source of concern for my delegation, and we believe that the international community should render them substantial assistance.

Finally, while taking note of the enormity of the task facing UNMIK, my delegation would like to pay tribute to Mr. Hans Haekkerup for the work he has done as head of UNMIK and to the entire local and international staff of UNMIK and KFOR for their determination and commitment to implement Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). The international community must step up its efforts to assist UNMIK in this crucial phase of its commitment to Kosovo in order to enable the achievement of the objectives of peace, security and sustainable development.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the representative of China.

We appreciate the latest efforts made by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) in the comprehensive implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) and the progress that has already been achieved. Voter registration in Kosovo is to be held on schedule,

at the end of this month. China has all along stressed the importance of the participation of minority communities, which is necessary to ensure an impartial and fair election.

Integrating the strategy used to build trust among the various ethnic groups in the area of Mitrovica, as requested by the Security Council mission to Kosovo, is also indispensable for the holding of elections in Kosovo. UNMIK should continue its efforts in this regard.

Another important consensus reached by the Security Council mission to Kosovo is the need for the total disarmament of illegal armed groups. Now the Kosovo Police Service (KPS) is gaining in strength and will play an increasingly important role in ensuring law and order and the administration of justice in Kosovo. We understand that the KPS has recruited, or is about to recruit, a large number of members of the Kosovo Liberation Army, which might affect whether the KPS can fulfil its role impartially in providing law and order. We hope that UNMIK will proceed with caution on this matter.

The situations in Kosovo and Macedonia are somewhat related, so it is necessary to pay attention to the illegal flow of arms and the humanitarian situation along the border of Kosovo and Macedonia. UNMIK has the responsibility to take effective measures to stop the illegal cross-border flow of arms. The situation in Macedonia is at a critical stage. We hope that the parties concerned, in the spirit of respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Macedonia, will mediate the ethnic tensions between Macedonian and Albanian communities in an objective and impartial manner so as to avoid the escalation of violence and deterioration of the security situation, which would have a negative impact on the peace and stability of the region as a whole.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

I call on the representative of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Mr. Mladenović (Yugoslavia): I would also like to thank Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his comprehensive briefing.

Since the last consideration in the Security Council, last month, of the situation in Kosovo and Metohija, the autonomous province of the Yugoslav constituent Republic of Serbia — the priority issues have become the elections in the Province, the return of displaced persons and the tracing of abducted and missing persons.

The common goal of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and international actors involved in the quest for a solution to the crisis in Kosovo and Metohija should be a consistent implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) and the creation of conditions for building a multi-ethnic and democratic Kosovo and Metohija, including self-government and substantial autonomy with full respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Surely one of the essential steps towards the realization of this goal is the return of displaced persons. A fully secure environment must be created for the return of Serbs and other non-Albanians to their homes, rather than to some places of temporary residence. Of course, this will take time, but it could be done step by step. Southern Serbia is eloquent proof that displaced persons can return if proper conditions are created. Such conditions must be created in Kosovo and Metohija as well. Since the entry of the Yugoslav forces into the entire ground safety zone on 31 May this year, more than half of the 12,000 displaced Albanians have returned to the area.

However, more than 250,000 persons displaced from Kosovo and Metohija now live in other parts of Serbia and throughout Yugoslavia. Twenty-five thousand non-Albanians left the province in 2000 alone. Under the return plan of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2000 persons are supposed to return this year. Considering the existing circumstances in Kosovo and Metohija, even this modest number appears unrealistic.

The other very important and painful issue is the fate of abducted and missing persons. We must not turn a deaf ear to the desperate pleas of families and relatives. We must invest every effort to trace each and every missing person. The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia attaches utmost important to resolving this issue. There is no doubt that this can be done only with the involvement of the international community and Albanian factors. So far, I regret to say, the latter have shown no readiness to become actively engaged. It is of course encouraging, though, that understanding for this issue was shown at the meeting

of the Yugoslav delegation with the North Atlantic council and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Secretary-General in Brussels on 18 July 2001.

The question of the participation of Serbs in the general elections in Kosovo and Metohija on 17 November 2001 is of widespread interest. For the international community, it is a precondition for their inclusion in addressing the future of Kosovo and Metohija. My delegation presented the position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the elections in its statement to the Security Council on 22 June 2001. Let me reiterate that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is ready to support the participation of Serbs in the elections if necessary conditions are created.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has shown readiness to cooperate with the international community. It called on the Serbs to register and defined the necessary conditions so that it could call on them to take part in the elections. These include security guarantees to all residents of Kosovo and Metohija; the creation of conditions for a safe return of all displaced persons; tracing all abducted and missing persons; and the preparation of the elections in cooperation with the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia. Meanwhile, appropriate arrangements have been made with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe mission and the International Organization for Migration to begin voter registration in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, implementation and the monitoring of the elections.

Let me also point out on this occasion the need for institutionalizing cooperation between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). This would not only facilitate numerous practical solutions, but would also recommit the international community to respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as provided for by Security Council resolution 1244 (1999).

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is ready to build relations with the Kosovo Force (KFOR) and UNMIK, based on partnership and mutual respect. However, by its latest guidelines for visits by Yugoslav Government officials and political party representatives to Kosovo and Metohija, UNMIK has, in our opinion, taken a step in the wrong direction. The formalities required contain very serious restrictions which imply relations between sovereign States. They are clearly inappropriate with regard to visits of individuals from the rest of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to Kosovo and Metohija, which is an integral part of its constituent Republic of Serbia. This brings about an absurd situation in which the Yugoslav democratic authorities now have to meet conditions that were not required even of the regime of Slobodan Milosevic. These guidelines should be reconsidered, and the best way to do this would be, we believe, through reaching a mutual agreement.

The removal of anachronistic vestiges of the past would greatly facilitate the progress of democracy in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. To that end, we hope and believe that the arms embargo imposed by Security Council resolution 1160 (1998) and the ground safety zone and air safety zone established by the military technical agreement of 9 June 1999 will be lifted and abolished soon.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will invest every effort to improve the situation in Kosovo and Metohija, which is now far from what was intended to be achieved by the implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). To that end, it is necessary that, in cooperation with international actors, the Albanian community in Kosovo and Metohija also play an active role and avoid steps that violate or go beyond the bounds of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999). Taken together, these efforts would be conducive to a multi-ethnic and democratic Kosovo and Metohija, the stabilization of Yugoslavia and, by extension, the stabilization of the Balkans as a whole.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): The next speaker is the representative of Belgium. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. De Ruyt (Belgium) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — the associated countries Cyprus, Malta and Turkey, and Iceland and Liechtenstein, European Free Trade Association countries belonging to the European Economic Area, align themselves with this statement.

Last month, the Security Council had the opportunity to discuss the situation in Kosovo on the

basis of reports of the Secretary-General and of the Security Council mission to the region. The European Union commented on developments in Kosovo on that occasion, and I shall therefore confine myself to stressing elements that are of greatest importance to the Union — elements, moreover, that Mr. Guéhenno highlighted in his excellent briefing.

I would like first of all to reaffirm the support of the European Union for the efforts of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Hans Haekkerup, in implementing resolution 1244 (1999). The work carried out by the men and women of UNMIK has led to concrete and positive results which should be underlined.

The European Union welcomes the promulgation of the Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government and the announcement of the date of parliamentary elections. These are crucial steps towards a democratic and multi-ethnic Kosovo. But to attain that goal it is essential for all communities to participate in the elections and in the provisional Kosovo institutions that will stem from it. The elections offer all communities the opportunity to take their fate in hand within the context of resolution 1244 (1999).

In that connection, we welcome the support of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for the registration of Kosovo Serb voters. We hope that the appointment of Serbian Deputy Prime Minister Covic to coordinate policy on Kosovo will contribute to those efforts, and that the Belgrade Government will also be able to persuade the Kosovo Serb community to participate in the 17 November elections. We welcome the fact that several political parties have already registered for the election. We encourage the others, and particularly the Serb parties, to follow their example.

The European Union is aware of the problems still remaining in Kosovo, especially with regard to security, missing persons and the return of refugees and displaced persons. We welcome the measures and initiatives already taken and encourage UNMIK and other concerned actors to continue their efforts in those areas.

The tension in Kosovo has abated somewhat over the past month. But the risk of the situation deteriorating should not be underestimated. It is to be hoped that the recent security measures will lead to a reduction in violence. Consolidation of Pillar I, "Police and justice", should also open the way to an improvement in public order. The Union supports the adoption and enforcement of firm measures against extremists and criminal organizations, and we emphasize the worrying situation in northern Kosovo, in particular in Mitrovica. We support the efforts of UNMIK and of the Kosovo Force (KFOR) to ensure security and to restore confidence in this area.

For the European Union, the handover of Mr. Milosevic to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, at The Hague, is an important development. It is necessary for the process of reconciliation that the people of Kosovo and, more generally, those of the entire region, realize that justice will be done and that nobody is above the law.

Despite the fragile ceasefire, the situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia remains a cause of concern. We remain convinced that the only way to achieve a lasting settlement is through political dialogue. The European Union welcomes the political dialogue initiated on the basis of the framework document. All the parties must now shoulder their responsibilities. The Union will continue to offer its assistance with a view to finding a peaceful and lasting solution to the conflict. And, as members know, the High Representative, Mr. Solana, is today in Skopje along with the Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Chairman-in-Office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The European Union will continue its efforts to promote stability, democratic development and prosperity in the region, in close cooperation with all parties. Next month, the electoral process in Kosovo will have reached the significant milestone of registering political parties and voters. We hope to be able, at the next meeting of the Security Council, to express satisfaction that all went smoothly.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I call now on Mr. Guéhenno to respond to questions and comments.

Mr. Guéhenno (*spoke in French*): Let me first address the comments and questions of the representative of France. Ambassador Doutriaux asked me to comment on the unambiguous conclusion of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's Committee on Kosovo that conditions for Serb participation in the elections were "non-existent" (*supra*). I think the first

response is that four Serb parties have decided to register and to request certification. That indicates that those four parties hope that the elections can result in true participation by the Serb community in the affairs of Kosovo.

Clearly, the progress that the Serbs expect will be gradual — too slow to meet their expectations. As I think everybody agrees, that progress can come about only through a gradual approach, such as the one instituted by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). The pace might be debated, but I think everyone agrees that it must be gradual.

Clearly, expectations in three basic areas need to be addressed. Some questions have symbolic and emotional dimensions, such as that of missing persons. Here, several delegations referred to the memorandum of understanding with the International Committee for Missing Persons, by which we shall enjoy its cooperation on DNA testing. That is a practical step forward that I believe will enable us to make progress on this distressing issue.

There are certain practical issues that can have a direct effect on Serb participation in the elections, first and foremost the question of the return of refugees and displaced persons. Here, talks are under way on the pace of such returns. We hope it will be as fast as possible. But we know we must take the security situation into account, for nothing would be more harmful to the restoration of trust than returns taking place under poor conditions and endangering the safety and security of Serbs who return to Kosovo.

The modalities for these returns can be a subject for discussion. The long-standing position of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and of UNMIK is that those who return should go back to their places of origin. We know that in some instances that could cause practical problems, because their houses are occupied or because the returnees would be isolated in places where it would be difficult to guarantee their safety and security. I believe we must address these issues pragmatically and consider how to act in line with basic principles while adapting to the specific conditions of Kosovo.

Here, I note that there have been some encouraging signs. An association of displaced persons from the Pec region has requested to register for the elections; this is an encouraging sign. It shows that here too there is the expectation and the belief that progress can be made.

The third essential area that many have spoken about is, of course, security. This is still the paramount concern of UNMIK. I will not repeat what I have already said in this regard. I think I have stressed that progress is being made. We have, I believe, an approach that will be increasingly effective, as is beginning to be seen in very concrete terms.

Finally, as regards the involvement of Serbs in the electoral process, I think the basic issue is whether the Serbs want to have an influence from within on the reconciliation process and on the administration of Kosovo. I think the prospects for the November elections offer this possibility. They offer the possibility for a truly multi-ethnic Kosovo, where participation in the management of public affairs will be both the result of a reconciliation process and an instrument for such reconciliation. Bringing the communities to the same table in one Assembly to discuss together matters of common concern to them, and thus obliging them to enter into dialogue, instead of having a kind of parallel administration of their affairs, will help to create conditions that will strengthen the reconciliation process. I recognize, however, that this will take time.

The President *(spoke in Chinese)*: I thank Mr. Guéhenno for the clarifications he has provided.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4351

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4351st meeting

Monday, 30 July 2001, 10.45 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Wang Yingfan	(China)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	France	Mr. Doutriaux
	Ireland	Mr. Cooney
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Touré
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway	Mr. Strømmen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Ayari
	Ukraine	Mr. Kulyk
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Harrison
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation in East Timor

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (S/2001/719).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-47263 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.05 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in East Timor

Progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (S/2001/719)

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Indonesia, Japan, New Zealand, the Philippines, Portugal and the Republic of Korea in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Ms. Wensley (Australia), Mr. De Ruyt (Belgium), Mr. Moura (Brazil), Mr. Heinbecker (Canada), Mr. Widodo (Indonesia), Mr. Motomura (Japan), Mr. Hughes (New Zealand), Mr. Manalo (Philippines), Mr. Brito (Portugal) and Mr. Sun (Republic of Korea) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative and Transitional Administrator for East Timor.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Vieira de Mello to take a seat at the Council table.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. José Ramos-Horta, Member of the Transitional Cabinet of East Timor responsible for Foreign Affairs.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Ramos-Horta to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2001/719, which contains the progress report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor.

The Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Vieira de Mello at this meeting. I understand that he is also prepared to answer questions or to provide clarifications, if need be. At the end of the briefing, I will give the floor to Council members who wish to make comments or to ask questions. I would like to invite members to raise their hand if they wish to take the floor.

I now give the floor to Mr. Vieira de Mello.

Mr. Vieira de Mello: It is a great pleasure and an honour to appear before the Council today and to have the opportunity to brief it once again on the latest situation in East Timor and our plans for the future at this critical stage in the transition process. It is a particular pleasure to make this presentation under the presidency of China, which has been such a stalwart friend to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and to East Timor since the very beginning of this daunting enterprise. Indeed, the entire Council, having set us this mammoth undertaking, has never shirked from its full responsibility to ensure that this mission is a success. Though, in East Timor, we may be nearly as far away from this Chamber as it is possible to be, through the intense interest and support of the Council's members we are continually reassured that we are never far away from their minds.

Before I begin my presentation proper, allow me to introduce — though it always seems somewhat foolish to introduce one so well known to all Council members — our Cabinet Member for Foreign Affairs,

José Ramos-Horta. Also, and she is perhaps less well known to the Council now, may I take the opportunity of introducing Mrs. Emilia Pires, Director of the East Timor National Planning and Development Agency. Mrs. Pires is here in New York as a guest of the United Nations Development Programme and the timing of her visit is particularly fortuitous, as she headed our initial planning exercise for the possible design of a successor mission in East Timor, a subject I shall focus on at some length today.

It has been six months since I last visited New York and spoke to the Council. As members have read in the report of the Secretary-General, much has happened in East Timor since then. Many of the projects that I outlined six months ago have come to fruition thanks to resolution 1338 (2001), which this Council adopted after the last open debate in January, while many more are on the way. As I have told the Council before, however, the mandate with which we were entrusted in East Timor was much more than a list of tasks, much more than a catalogue of problems to be solved. It was nothing less than to work with the traumatized and brutalized people of East Timor and, together, to create an independent sovereign State.

I have often commented on the uniqueness of the operation in East Timor. I do so not because I wish to make excuses for any of our failings, but because we are all engaged in something truly historic, and we need to constantly remind ourselves of that fact and of where we started. Never before has the international community banded together and embarked on such a noble venture from such a bleak beginning. We started, quite literally, from nothing and — because we had never done this before — through feeling our way carefully, we have come a long way towards preparing East Timor for that ultimate goal: independence.

That end is now in sight. But my message to the Council today is that while we have indeed come a long way on an extraordinary adventure, we nonetheless have much further to go if East Timor is to be able truly and fully to benefit from its independence. Now is not the time for complacency, but a time to buckle down and complete the mandate the Council gave us to the very best of our ability.

Elections will take place in exactly a month's time. A Constituent Assembly will be convened on the basis of the outcome of that ballot. A second transitional Government will be put into place, and East Timor will soon thereafter become the first new nation of the millennium.

This Council can afford to be proud of the consistent help and guidance it has given us during this critical and often difficult period, and I want to thank it for that.

But much still needs to be done, and in his report to the Council, the Secretary-General has indicated that some of the tasks will be completed only after the formal date of East Timor's independence. My overriding priority now is to ensure that the United Nations is positioned to complete the job it has been set by the Council, as quickly as is sensible and as economically as is prudent. To do this, we need to address four major objectives: first, consolidate the secure and stable environment that presently exists; secondly, steer East Timor through the creation of democratic institutions and successful, peaceful elections; thirdly, put in place the building blocks for the management of public finances and policy-making; and fourthly, establish the framework for a sustainable and effective Government administration. These four broad objectives support the goal of handing over a secure, stable and working Government to the people of East Timor.

I believe that we are on track with the process of political transition. We are producing a voters' roll, which is being developed from the successfully completed civil registration process. Elections will go ahead on 30 August. A multi-party political process is now under way, and campaigning has begun. I am very happy to tell the Council that our efforts to encourage women's participation in the political process have truly borne fruit. No fewer than 268 women candidates will be standing in the election, out of a total of 992 candidates, and I expect a substantial number to be elected; indeed, I very much hope that that will be the case.

We have also found a way, with the generous and timely support of Member States, to offer campaign help to the political parties, which will be of particular assistance to the smaller and less well funded among them. It will not be in cash, and it will not be enough — it never is — but it will assist the democratic process to take root in a country that has never before been afforded this basic right.

There is still some disquiet among much of the population because of concerns that the political

process may lead to civil unrest and violence. But both East Timor's leadership and we have made it absolutely clear that politically motivated violence in the territory will not be tolerated. At the beginning of this month, to reinforce that point, 14 of the 16 parties competing in the election signed a pact of national unity, witnessed by both José Ramos-Horta and myself, among others, which demonstrates unequivocally their commitment to peaceful, non-violent and mature — I repeat, mature — democratic competition.

As has been mentioned in the report of the Secretary-General, those members of the transitional Cabinet who wished to take part in the election campaign have resigned and have been replaced by their civil service deputies. This modified Cabinet will continue to exercise executive authority and develop draft legislation, most of which, apart from urgent business, will await referral to the new Assembly.

Following the elections, I intend to appoint an expanded Cabinet that will reflect the outcome of the ballot. The new all-Timorese transitional Government will head a reorganized Transitional Administration that will more closely reflect the anticipated portfolio responsibilities of the future independent Government. This will entail perhaps the most exciting qualitative leap forward in the process of handing over the reins of Government to the East Timorese from the international community: a process that the Council called on UNTAET to carry out to the utmost in its resolution 1338 (2001) last January.

While I shall continue to retain the authority the Council has vested in me as the Secretary-General's Special Representative and Transitional Administrator, following the elections it is clearly appropriate to move to a further stage of what we call Timorization. This, I agree, is an ugly word that, I regret, has entered into common usage. Behind it, however, lies the basic guideline that has underpinned this mission from the early months of last year: you cannot prepare a people for self-government without first exposing them to experience of government. Any other approach would simply not work.

I know that, following the successful donor conference in Canberra last month, many in the Council are keenly and, dare I say it, critically looking at our plans in the area of public finances. The budget provided at Canberra, of $65 million, was, I believe, neither lavish nor imprudent. It was the product of a very bruising and difficult, as well as very democratic, process. It was, like all budgets, a compromise — a compromise between the need for fiscal sustainability, economic good sense and aid dependency, on the one hand, and the clear and desperate needs of the people of East Timor, on the other. However, I share with many members concern about the medium-term viability of a budget that is already dependent on $20 million a year in aid money just to keep running the basic operations of Government.

The last on my list of essential objectives was the transfer of the existing public service architecture to an East Timorese public administration. My plans for this will lead me to discuss also the question of the follow-on mission and the sensitive but increasingly urgent task of what we call "managing expectations".

In public administration it is my intention to follow much the same pattern as in the political transition. In othe. words, I want to spend the time that we have between now and independence bringing the international component of the public administration down to a size and a shape that will allow a seamless transfer of power to a national structure that is credible, effective and adequately staffed. This public administration will be one that East Timor can afford, using technology that is sustainable, and one that will serve the people while eschewing the risks of corruption, nepotism and cronyism. There is still a way to go, and over the next few months and years capacity-building must remain our main endeavour and highest priority.

Capacity-building has proved both frustrating and difficult in the past, and we at the United Nations have too often looked for managers rather than mentors, who have thus not seen the need to deliver in this vital area of skills transfer. UNDP has done excellent work in this field, and I would like to commend it on its recent very comprehensive report on this subject and on the long-term plan that it contained. All of East Timor's development partners will do well to support this plan over the next few years.

The Secretary-General has recommended in his report to the Council a continuation of the United Nations presence in East Timor, should he receive an appropriate request from the Government of East Timor. The nature of the successor mission has been spelled out to members, but I would like to take a few

moments of the Council's time to share my views on what is needed and why.

I might preface this by saying that we have been planning the new mission both through the mechanism of an integrated mission task force in the Secretariat here in New York and through the presence in East Timor of a senior officer dedicated to its planning several months ahead of its deployment. That is a rare and welcome exception which I know my colleagues in New York will ensure becomes the norm in future.

I am aware that critics of the United Nations often say that the hardest thing to persuade us to do is to leave. In the past, that has often been the case, but in East Timor I do not think we are seeking to outstay our welcome, although I look forward to hearing José Ramos-Horta on this subject in a moment. This is not in any sense special pleading; it is my view that this is an absolute necessity. The arguments for a continued military and police presence have been well presented in the report, and I will not return to them in detail. What I wish to emphasize, however, is that our planning in this critical area will be predicated solely on the security conditions prevailing in East Timor. No other factor should be allowed to influence our judgement or that of the Security Council.

The report entertains a scaled drawdown of the international military presence, starting some time in the near future and beginning in the eastern part of the country. Should the current stable conditions continue in East Timor through the election period and the formation of the Constituent Assembly and of the new transitional Government, I see no reason at this stage why that process could not commence, cautiously, prior to independence.

Security, however, requires more than an effective police and military, important though they are. It requires also the rule of law and effective access to justice. In East Timor, as members know well — and indeed, as the Council mission to us last November made explicit — we have struggled to put in place an effective mechanism to deal with the serious crimes of the recent past. Some success is now becoming visible. A major trial is currently under way in Dili, focusing on a series of brutal crimes against humanity that took place in 1999 in the eastern district of Lautem. Nonetheless, our courts continue to lack basic resources, both material and human.

Where we also continue to struggle is in bringing fully to life the memorandum of understanding that I signed last year with the Attorney-General of Indonesia concerning cooperation in legal, judicial and human rights related matters.

While bilateral relations continue to move forward in a generally positive direction, we urge the Government of Indonesia to reissue the decree creating the ad hoc human rights tribunal that would make it possible to bring to justice for serious crimes in East Timor those first 23 suspects that the then Indonesian Attorney-General Marzuki Daruzman publicly named in early September 2000 following thorough, joint investigations by the Indonesian and the East Timorese prosecutors-general. For that process to be credible, it is imperative that the tribunal have jurisdiction over crimes that occurred not just after the popular consultation in 1999 but also before that date. We can and will continue to bring to justice those responsible for these acts who are within East Timor's jurisdiction. But true justice will require that the architects of those crimes also face their day in court.

The bulk of my comments today will focus on the question of the civilian presence, and in particular that part of it that will be working within the post-independence government structure. We have been directed to do a job, and that job is not yet complete. The Security Council mandate in resolution 1272 (1999) was quite clear. UNTAET was to maintain security and law and order, to establish an effective administration, and to support capacity-building for self-government.

To equate the political transition, which is now so close to completion, with the establishment of an effective administration for East Timor is quite simply wrong. The event of political independence is on a path that is parallel, albeit closely related, to the progressive achievement of what we might call administrative independence. It would be wrong to disengage from that activity prematurely, to declare too early the full implementation of resolution 1272 (1999). On independence, we will have unfinished business from resolution 1272 (1999) still to do — and do it we must, in order to ensure that the work so far completed, for which the Council should take much of the credit, remains firmly in place. I am sure that José Ramos-Horta will reinforce that point in a moment.

The reality today is that we do not yet have a fully effective East Timorese administration, and that we will not have one early next year, when independence is likely to come. The machine we run now, the hybrid we have created, which contains large numbers of international staff, is being reduced in size and rationalized. But there will still be many gaps, and those gaps will need to be filled. We cannot simply walk away and thus put at risk the enormous investment that has been made thus far. While it is true that East Timor must rely on its bilateral and multilateral partners and that the mission should not do anything that those partners are prepared to do, I nevertheless believe that there are vital parts of government, particularly in the areas mentioned by the Secretary-General in his report — those of central management, fiscal management, justice and human rights, and security and national sovereignty — where it would be entirely justified to place advisory staff and a small number of line managers in the East Timor Government. With the consent and active support of the East Timorese, those experts would continue the process of skills transfer and would ensure the proper functioning of departments for a specified period of time.

I am convinced that those positions should be within the new mission and should be funded from assessed contributions. With great respect, I am fully aware of the difficulties that some members of the Council may have with that proposition, but I have worked for most of my United Nations career with the often debilitating and always uncertain constraints of voluntary funding, and I am certain that these vital posts should have the firm and predictable base of assessed contributions if they are to attract the calibre of personnel required and if those personnel are to be enabled to work successfully in areas which are, after all, of vital concern to East Timor's donors.

The Secretary-General has already indicated our determination to finish the task in East Timor as economically and as efficiently as possible. We have signalled this with the figures we have already presented for downsizing — or as I am now told is the correct phrase, "rightsizing" — the existing mission. We are still putting the details to our plans for the next mission, but what we will ask for in October, when we come back to the Council with more precise information, will, I can assure members, be a strategic, sensible and above all modest assessment of what will be required.

Perhaps this is the right moment to address the question of burden-sharing before I move on to sustainability and the management of expectations. An address to the Security Council always provides an opportunity like no other to bring to the attention of the international community and member States any particular hobbyhorses that the speaker might be riding at the time. Perhaps the Council will indulge me therefore if I ask members to encourage, on my behalf and on behalf of East Timor, the entire United Nations system — the Secretariat of course, but also agencies, funds and programmes — to work as never before to deliver together as much coordinated assistance, with ourselves on the ground, as they can. We had hoped for that before, at the beginning of the current mission, and quite frankly the results were, as members will recall, disappointing. Let us, on this occasion, really pull together in the spirit of a truly integrated mission to show what the United Nations working as a team can do.

One of the most significant events of the past few weeks in terms of the long-term viability of East Timor was the signing on 5 July of the Timor Sea framework agreement. Australian and East Timorese cabinet ministers initialled an Arrangement that was the product of 16 months of often difficult negotiations. It will come into effect as a treaty only when it has been approved, signed and ratified by the elected Government in Dili. It would be very unwise at this stage to offer even a guess as to the revenues that this will provide for East Timor in the medium term. Suffice it to say that those revenues, if properly managed, will have a very significant impact indeed on the ability of the independent Government to deliver services to its people and to plan development investment for a secure future. There are surely enough examples of bad management of mineral resources for the East Timorese to take heed and profit from others' mistakes. I am confident that they will. However, this indication of wealth to come and the need to manage it should not deflect the Government from the need to plan within its means in the meanwhile.

This leads me to the vexed and sensitive subject of managing expectations. I have no doubt that we have done well in East Timor so far — together, in very close partnership with the Timorese leadership. Historians will be able to tell us with hindsight how

much better they would have done in our place. But even the harshest of critics — and, as Council members know, we have had many, especially those sitting on the fence — must be surprised at what we, the United Nations and the East Timorese, by working ever more closely with the people of East Timor, have achieved in turning the ashes and debris that we found when we arrived, in early November 1999, into a functioning State, heading fast towards democratic institutions, elections and a democratic future.

There is a price, however, which concerns me more and more, and that is the baggage that a United Nations mission and the donors and others bring with them on a venture such as this. In order to function and to create the conditions necessary for us to operate effectively, we bring with us a complicated culture of technology and relative comfort. We bring cars and computers, air conditioners and satellite antennas, and all the paraphernalia of the technologically developed North — because we do not function otherwise and arguably could not do the job without them. But then we leave, having created expectations, especially in the capital and main centres, that cannot be realized when Independence Day dawns and our hosts find that they have to live within their modest means. Sustainability is the catch-all word that we put into our reports, but behind this antiseptic word may lie disappointment and disillusion, which need to be managed if they are not to be destructive. We have been working hard on this whole question of the transfer of UNTAET assets to independent East Timor.

Over the next few months, with the right-sizing of the Government machine, some hard and even harsh choices will have to be made, and we have to do everything that we can to make sure that they are not only made, but that their effects are planned for and understood by all. How many computers remain in Government, how many means of sophisticated telecommunications, how many vehicles? There are many important questions. But how many, how much, how few are not simply mathematical questions; the answers will affect people's lives and livelihoods.

I have made a habit on these occasions of drawing to the attention of the Council some of the lessons we have learned in East Timor that might be useful to others in the peacekeeping business. In addition to what I have just said, I would like to draw the Council's attention to three final concerns: police, justice and personnel.

I have little new to say on the question of United Nations civilian police, but I must repeat myself because we still seem to be facing the same old problems of quality versus quantity — a problem, I would suggest, that might not be so much one of the police personnel that are sent on peace missions, but rather one of our doctrinal approach to the whole concept of international executive policing functions. Admittedly this would be a new departure for the United Nations. We need an exhaustive analysis of how we approach this task. This involves the Secretariat, the contributing States — in how they prepare their officers pre-deployment — and those of us in the field, in how we decide to best use them.

For the record — with the support of Jean-Marie Guéhenno and the assistance of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations in New York — we have tried a pilot project in one district, involving the deployment of the civilian police as a national unit. The results are not yet conclusive, but I believe that in some cases this might prove more effective than the old method of scattering and mixing national contingents in small numbers all over the mission area.

I would like to place on record here my strong personal support for those who have been asking for the development of a uniform code of justice to be employed by transitional administrations such as UNTAET and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). If the United Nations is to govern, then justice is the key, and we should come to the mission with the code already in our pockets. But even a pre-prepared code requires implementation, and implementation requires resources. These have been sorely lacking in East Timor from the very start. As Council members will recall, the mission began at a place that was some distance from even square one. There were no judges, no lawyers, no records, no equipment, no buildings. For the future, should we ever be called on to administer justice, we must be in a position to do just that, and we must be provided with the means to ensure that we have no excuse for not doing so. Anything less and we risk the collapse — or non-development — of a fundamental pillar of democratic society.

Lastly, after much weeping and gnashing of teeth, we have proved, somewhat belatedly and with strong Secretariat support, that in personnel matters we can make the United Nations system work. We have developed an autonomy and flexibility that has seen us

through very difficult days, but let us not leave it at that. Let us now institutionalize some of these innovations and continue to be creative in our thinking as concerns field deployment. We need the right people at the right time, and we need to have the machinery to keep the good ones and let those who do not perform go. Above all, we need the time and the resources to plan ahead. That is why we are planning now, and that is why we are asking, once again, for the Council's help.

When I briefed the Council in June of last year, I invited all the members to visit East Timor and see for themselves, first-hand, the work that was being done, the difficulties encountered on the ground, the successes and those areas where I recognized that there was much room for improvement. In November the Council paid us such a visit and, I believe, found the exercise to be helpful, enabling members to see perhaps more clearly the complexity of the operation in all its multifarious aspects.

The elections on 30 August will be a landmark in many different ways. They will lead to the creation of an Assembly that will formulate the constitution of East Timor, while assuming certain legislative powers and, in all likelihood, eventually transforming itself into the first legislature of an independent East Timor. These elections will also enable me to form the second — this time, all-Timorese — transitional Government of East Timor. Its composition will reflect the aspirations of the people as expressed at the polls; its structure will very much prefigure that of the first independent Government; and I intend to delegate to it most of the day-to-day management of Government business.

These new bodies, coupled with the judiciary, which we have striven to Timorize from the very early days, will, from the second half of September, be exercising the maximum degree of self-government possible under resolutions 1272 (1999) and 1338 (2001). At this stage it appears that once the constitution is adopted presidential elections would be the likely final step on East Timor's route to independence.

A great deal will be accomplished in that final phase of the United Nations-led transition. Both we and the East Timorese will continue to learn in what will be, without doubt, the most complex, yet the most rewarding, chapter of this unprecedented mission. The challenge for the East Timorese is obvious. The one faced by the United Nations, which, on the Council's behalf, administers East Timor, will be equally daunting, for we shall have to exercise our responsibilities in full harmony with new organs that will enjoy, for the first time in East Timor's history, democratic legitimacy.

Should Council members accept my renewed invitation to visit us again, they would, I am sure, appreciate that this is not an interface that should be allowed to continue for longer than is absolutely necessary to meet the essential benchmarks for East Timor to achieve its independence. Conversely, I am equally certain they would agree that for our pride in this endeavour to be fully justified, we must remain fully engaged in those early, difficult days after the United Nations flag comes down. I pledge to fulfil the Secretary-General's commitment to recommend to the Council in greater detail, by this coming October, the reduced, compact and most effective configuration of that post-independence component.

I thank you once again, Mr. President, for allowing me to make this presentation today. Perhaps now, to complete my briefing and that of the East Timorese Transitional Administration, you will be kind enough to allow my friend and colleague José Ramos-Horta to take the floor.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for his comprehensive briefing.

I give the floor to Mr. José Ramos-Horta, member of the Transitional Cabinet of East Timor responsible for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Ramos-Horta: I would like to take this occasion to tell you, Sir, how privileged and pleased we feel that this meeting is taking place today, still under your presidency. I would also like to express my most sincere appreciation to the previous Presidents of the Council, particularly during the month of January, when we had the first meeting of the year on this subject, and in May, when President Xanana Gusmão and I addressed the Council under the United States presidency.

Allow me to congratulate you, Mr. President, your Government and your people on your successful bid to host the Olympic Games in 2008. I hope that by then the East Timorese will be worthy competitors in

Beijing and will be able to take some medals away from the Chinese athletes.

We have come a long way since the International Force in East Timor (INTERFET) first landed in the country. I do not want to go through again what we have already said and what Sergio Vieira de Mello has already so eloquently stated in his speech about what the international community found in East Timor and the difficulties, the destruction, the despair, the loss of lives, the dislocation of people — more than one third of the people have been uprooted and taken to West Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia — and what we have achieved so far.

Two years after the historic referendum, on 30 August, the people of East Timor will again go to the polls and, for the first time ever in our 500-year history, will vote to elect deputies for a Constituent Assembly, who will draft a constitution setting the legal framework for the declaration of independence and the election of a President.

We have assured the Council throughout our engagement with it, in the discussions, that — beyond the efforts of the peacekeeping forces, which have done an outstanding job in protecting the borders of East Timor and providing safety and tranquillity to the people throughout the districts — we on the East Timorese side itself will do our utmost to cooperate with the international community in ensuring peace and tranquillity for ourselves.

This June we dissolved the National Council of Timorese Resistance. In the history of decolonization, this must be quite a unique experiment. Never before in the history of decolonization had a coalition movement dissolved itself to allow its members to create a multi-party society and system.

There was some concern and fear that with the dissolution of the National Council of Timorese Resistance — the umbrella body that led the people of East Timor towards independence and, in particular, mobilized and organized the people for the 30 August 1999 referendum — there would be violence. Yet the transition from the National Council of Timorese Resistance to a multi-party system has been going very smoothly.

In the first week of July, witnessed by Sergio Vieira de Mello, the two Bishops of East Timor, Xanana Gusmão and myself, and with His Holiness the Pope having sent a message, the East Timorese political parties signed a pact of national unity committing themselves to accepting non-violence as a norm and the results of the 30 August elections, regardless of the outcome for each of them. So far, they have been true to the commitment that they have made. Political campaigning has started throughout the country, with thousands of people participating, yet there has not been a single case of violence among the political parties.

The border region itself has been relatively quiet despite occasional incidents. We regret an incident that happened only yesterday with the fatal shooting of an Indonesian soldier, who was armed but in civilian clothes. The exact circumstances and exact location of the incident have not yet been determined. I received this information only this morning from my office in Dili. Apart from these incidents, however, the situation throughout the border region has been relatively quiet and safe. This is a tribute not only to the professionalism of the peacekeeping forces but also to the successful efforts of the United Nations itself, through Sergio Vieira de Mello and the head of the peacekeeping forces, to engage the Indonesian side in dialogue. We commend the efforts of the Indonesian military commander in the Bali region, particularly in West Timor, General Willem da Costa, under whom, since he took over the operational leadership in West Timor, the situation has improved.

We have also pursued efforts at dialogue with the pro-autonomy and the pro-integration faction in East Timorese society. There were successful meetings at the end of May in East Timor, involving almost 100 people, of whom about 50 came from West Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia. President Xanana Gusmão has travelled to the border region and engaged some militia leaders and political elements from the other side in dialogue.

Bishop Basilio Nascimento, the head of the Diocese of Baucau, also had a very successful visit to West Timor, where he was received by thousands of people. Preparations are under way for Xanana Gusmão again to travel to the border region and maybe to West Timor itself to continue the dialogue with not only the authorities in West Timor, but also our own people who are still in the camps in West Timor.

We have just arrived from the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) ministerial

meeting in Hanoi, to which we had been invited by the host country, Viet Nam. Once again, we reiterated to our neighbours, particularly ASEAN countries, but also to others — the dialogue partners such as China, Japan, Korea, Australia, New Zealand and the United States — our continued commitment to develop relations with the region, including with Indonesia, because we believe that a strong, dynamic and creative relationship with the region will be our best defence. Only our ability to create a web of relations and interests with the countries of the region will ensure that East Timor will be able to continue to develop peacefully in the years to come. As Sergio Vieira de Mello has just mentioned, we have recently concluded an interim arrangement, a framework agreement with Australia, governing the sharing of revenue from oil and gas in the Timor Sea. The successful conclusion of the discussions on the Timor Sea is also a tribute to the maturity and the sense of responsibility of the two sides, East Timor and Australia.

As Sergio Vieira de Mello mentioned, and as has been our concern, we nevertheless hope that we will be able to develop alternative sources of wealth for East Timor in order to prevent East Timor from becoming dependent on only one or two commodities, such as oil and gas. In this regard, I would like to inform the Council that we are continuing discussions with the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme, Sergio Vieira de Mello, Timorese compatriots and donor countries to set up a strategic development task force that would look at long-term development in East Timor. In this regard, we are receiving concrete assistance from the Government of Malaysia, which will provide a senior official from the Office of the Prime Minister, dealing with economic development, to assist us in developing a strategic framework for the development of East Timor in the medium and long term. In December, we hope to present to the donor conference in Oslo a preliminary vision of the economic outlook for East Timor in the years to come.

If everything goes well, we will be able to announce here when East Timor will be independent. The decision will be made by the Constituent Assembly in consultation with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. We hope we will be able to keep to the initial calendar previously drawn up, and the date will be sometime early next year. Presidential elections should take place immediately after the adoption of the constitution, and independence would occur sometime early next year.

However, in spite of the positive note I am trying to convey, which is a reflection of the reality in the country, it is also important to remember that peace in East Timor is still very fragile, because of 25 years of trauma, of people living in a culture of violence and fear. It is not easy to erase this state of mind after 25 years of violence. Peace is fragile also because as long as armed elements continue to operate in West Timor, the people of East Timor will continue to live in fear of what will happen in the post-independence period. The incident involving an Indonesian soldier who apparently strayed into East Timor and was shot dead by vigilant New Zealand forces only underscored the need for the two sides to continue to cooperate even more closely to rid the entire region of weapons and violence along the border. On the East Timorese side, we very much look forward to working with the new President and the new Government of Indonesia; we send them our warmest greetings. In the last few days, the Indonesian people have shown extraordinary maturity in accepting the changes peacefully. We are continuing our efforts to engage the new Administration in Indonesia in dialogue. We look forward to the time when East Timor and the Indonesian province of Nusa Tenggara Timur, the territory of West Timor in particular, can develop a partnership to eradicate poverty, malaria, tuberculosis and other ills. To achieve this, it is necessary that the Government in East Timor and the Government in Jakarta reach a stage where we really trust each other and act with transparency.

I conclude by emphasizing that we are conscious of the need for the United Nations to downsize the military component of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor. We are also conscious of the need to downsize the civilian component in East Timor. After all, this is in our interest. We have no interest or desire to have the indefinite presence of a foreign force in East Timor, as professional as they are, as welcoming as they are, as well behaved as they have been so far. It is the nature of a society and a country to want to be masters of their own destiny. We do not wish to impose on the international community an indefinite presence of the peacekeeping forces on the ground nor of civilian personnel. However, peace is still fragile although the process has been extraordinarily successful due to the leadership of the

Secretary-General and due to the Special Representative. What the United Nations has achieved in East Timor in partnership with the donor countries has been unique. However, any consideration of hasty withdrawal soon after independence could undermine what has been achieved at such great cost, in terms of financial resources and in terms of lives, because the East Timorese made such a great sacrifice and sacrificed many lives to achieve what we have achieved so far.

For this reason, I end with an appeal to the members of the Security Council and the donor community to support the recommendations of the Secretary-General's report regarding the civilian component and the recommendations for a prudent, cautious downsizing of the military component after independence.

We hope that next year we will all be able to return here, and the elected President, Prime Minister or Foreign Minister will return to this Council and thank members once again for the tremendous support and generosity that has been shown by the Council, the Secretary-General, the agencies, the donor countries in general and civil society.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): I thank Mr. Ramos-Horta for his kind words addressed to my country. After the independence of East Timor, the international community will certainly warmly welcome this newborn country. We wish you excellent results in all areas, including the Olympics in 2008.

I shall now give the floor to the members of the Council who wish to make comments or ask questions. So many members of the Council raised their hands at the beginning of the meeting to indicate that they wanted to speak that it will probably not be possible to please everyone with the order of the list of speakers. I ask for members' forgiveness, and for their understanding of the difficulties faced by the Secretariat and the President.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore): We are pleased to welcome once again Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and Mr. José Ramos-Horta to the Security Council, especially at this critical juncture in East Timor's political transition. We also endorse the wise words of advice they have both given to members of the Council.

Why are we at a critical juncture today? First, it is midway through the current mandate of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), which the Security Council decided in resolution 1338 (2001) will last until 31 January 2002, although we must bear in mind the possible need for adjustments related to the timetable for independence. This is therefore an opportune time for a mid-term review on the progress of UNTAET and to hear more about the political timetable for East Timor.

Secondly, the Secretary-General has provided us with a very important progress report on UNTAET. We are pleased to note the number of projects which UNTAET has collaborated on with such bodies as the United Nations Development Programme, the World Bank and the Asia Development Bank. More importantly, the Secretary-General has provided us with a concept of operations for the successor mission following East Timor's independence. Using the framework provided by the Secretary-General, intensive discussions must now ensue within East Timor and with the United Nations community. Discussions should start here and now to build the best possible foundation for the successor mission and not because, as some have asserted, the Council is anticipating a precipitous withdrawal from East Timor. If I may borrow the words of Ambassador Richard Holbrooke at the open debate on "no exit without strategy" last year, the Council

> "must be very careful, when we talk about exit strategies, not to confuse them with exit deadlines ... an exit strategy must be directed towards a defining overall objective, not an arbitrary, self-imposed, artificial deadline". (*S/PV.4223, p. 4*)

Thirdly, in exactly a month's time, East Timorese will go to the ballot booth to democratically choose their representatives to the 88-member Constituent Assembly. The election is one of the most important events in the calendar of East Timor's political transition, but we must not forget that, while the election is an important milestone in UNTAET's mandate, it is not UNTAET's final destination, nor should it be that of the United Nations. Given their recent experience with elections, many East Timorese believe that the potential for violence during and after the elections may be even higher than before. Many previous United Nations peacekeeping operations have

also shown elections to be a highly unstable time at which to withdraw from an operation.

The United Nations should therefore learn its lessons from past experience and not repeat these mistakes in East Timor. Planning for a phase-down before the elections take place assumes a best-case scenario, which the Brahimi report opposed. The Brahimi report also warned against forcing a situation on the ground to fit political and other extraneous criteria in New York. The Constituent Assembly elections and the period immediately after that could be a moment of vulnerability. As such, the Security Council should view this period with vigilance rather than as an opportunity for an early exit or drawdown from East Timor. At the same time, to make plans for the United Nations exit or substantial withdrawal from East Timor at this juncture would send precisely the wrong signal to the East Timorese.

UNTAET has certainly come a long way. The dedication and devotion of the staff of UNTAET, not least of the Transitional Administrator, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, are qualities which Council members have repeatedly paid tribute to. We would be remiss if we did not reaffirm that tribute again today, as it is truly well deserved. We also remain impressed by the determination and resolve demonstrated by the East Timorese to maintain their road to independence. It is in no way an indictment of the good work done by UNTAET and that of the East Timorese people for us to say that the tasks ahead remain large. The United Nations still has a long way to go. Indeed, as Special Representative Sergio Vieira de Mello said this morning, we have come a long way but we have much further to go.

Before it signed the 5 May 1999 agreement, East Timor wanted five years of political transition to prepare itself for independence. Given that it has been barely two years since the popular consultations in East Timor and the events that followed, it is only understandable that more remains to be done. What East Timor has achieved thus far remains fragile and reversible. As the Secretary-General's report has highlighted, some hard-line militia elements have plans to resume operations designed to destabilize the situation in East Timor in the lead-up to the elections and independence. There is also concern that some militia elements have adopted a strategy of lying low until independence in the belief that the military presence will then be removed from East Timor.

Therefore, although great strides have been taken to Timorize the East Timor Transitional Administration, it is clear that certain critical areas of government will continue to need the support of the United Nations. Should post-independence East Timor unravel, the costs to the United Nations to again enter and rebuild East Timor would be much higher than if the international presence were sustained until East Timor is able to stand on its own two feet. We believe that the United Nations should not be penny-wise and pound-foolish. We believe that it is not sufficient for us to rely only on voluntary contributions to fund the United Nations presence. Voluntary contribution on its own is not enough. It would be better if the United Nations presence were supported by a regular and reliable source of funding that would give East Timor the maximum chance of viability over the long term. Indeed, again, as Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello said this morning, speaking boldly and clearly, we will need to retain funding from assessed contributions, not from voluntary funding. We should heed his careful words of advice and I believe that Mr. Ramos-Horta also made a similar appeal to us.

During the Arria-formula meeting organized by the Singapore mission on 26 July 2001, Council members were briefed by four very distinguished speakers: Mr. Shepard Forman from the Centre on International Cooperation at New York University, Ambassador Nancy Soderberg from the International Crisis Group, Ms. Sidney Jones from Human Rights Watch and Ambassador David Malone from the International Peace Academy. The unanimous message at that meeting was that East Timor is a half-finished project. They reminded us that ensuring sustainable peace and development in East Timor cannot be done on the cheap or in accelerated time. A precipitous withdrawal of either the civilian or military components of UNTAET would entail serious risks by heightening levels of uncertainty, both locally and internationally, and by undermining stability in the transitional period that really counts. No one wants two years of investment to produce a failed State.

The success or failure of East Timor will either bolster or undermine the United Nations credibility. At the same time, the regional context must be borne in mind, not least because of all the political transitions which East Timor's neighbour Indonesia is currently going through. The exit strategy from East Timor must therefore be carefully worked out with the elected

representatives of East Timor, based not on past costs or anticipated needs in other crises, but on the continuing needs in East Timor. A continued United Nations presence, albeit a scaled-down one — and we agree with both Mr. Vieira de Mello and Mr. Ramos-Horta when they say that it will have to be a scaled-down own — is going to be crucial. Areas such as defence, public safety, justice and governance are critical areas which need international support even after independence.

More specifically, the speakers at the Arria-formula meeting felt that, first, the United Nations has no other responsible choice but to stage its drawdown with the gradual establishment of the East Timor Defence Force and the East Timor police. There is a real risk that militias would escalate violence significantly if the United Nations security presence were to be withdrawn. The international force should therefore be scaled back only when the East Timor Defence Force reaches critical strength and is fully trained, equipped and deployed alongside the international troops. The process should only begin after independence is declared. The United Nations civilian police should be replaced only when there are adequate numbers of well-trained, well-equipped and well-disciplined police acting within the established rule of law.

The second point they made was that one of the most urgent needs is for the international community to assist the United Nations with basic law-and-order functions, providing, for example, judges, prosecutors and investigators. If the United Nations stops its support for prosecutions, "that might be the end of justice, period", to quote the words of one participant.

Thirdly, there are also ongoing needs for capacity-building and technical assistance both in the general area of civil administration and in specific functional areas such as banking, finance, immigration and customs, and air and seaports. International staff will also be needed to perform functions with a high technical content, since local expertise will be unavailable in the beginning.

One point worth stressing is that these tasks were indeed spelled out in resolution 1264 (1999), which first established UNTAET.

Having just looked at the progress of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) last week, it might also be useful to draw some comparisons between the two operations, given their similarities in size and population. While UNMIK is only one pillar of the international community's commitment to Kosovo, United Nations members spend roughly the same amount of the United Nations peacekeeping budget on UNMIK as on UNTAET, and will probably do so for a much longer period of time.

It is also important to bear in mind that no other region in the world has replicated the security architecture in Europe. The Security Council must therefore factor in the broader political, social and economic context and the regional dimension when considering East Timor. Indeed, this is what our European partners have often asked us to do when looking at the complex interlinked problems in the Balkans. At the recent meeting of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) held in Hanoi, the ARF Chairman issued a statement on 25 July which also

> "reiterated the need for the support of the international community, including ASEAN, to play an active role in the nation-building efforts of East Timor up to and beyond the territory's independence".

ASEAN is clearly aware that it has to play its part in helping East Timor, but it has its own limitations.

In addition, a new Government has recently been installed in Indonesia, East Timor's closest neighbour. We are pleased that this has been achieved smoothly. Nevertheless, Indonesia has recently undergone a difficult period of social, economic and political change. President Megawati Soekarnoputri has to address many pressing and diverse challenges throughout the Indonesian archipelago. We are therefore confident that Indonesia also sees it to be in its own interest to have a successful and smooth transition in East Timor. The international community should therefore encourage goodwill and understanding between East Timor and Indonesia.

We note with interest the results of the registration process of the refugees remaining in West Timor. We hope that the United Nations will continue to work closely with Indonesia to repatriate and resettle the refugees who have indicated their preferences, while keeping in view that some might change their mind after the political situation in East Timor stabilizes. We also look forward to hearing the results of the security assessment mission to West Timor. We hope that the problem of East Timorese refugees in

East Nusa Tenggara province can be resolved in a comprehensive manner.

There can be no doubt that at the end of the day, as Mr. José Ramos-Horta emphasized a few minutes ago, the East Timorese themselves will ultimately be responsible for the success of their own nascent State. They have demonstrated their clear commitment and eagerness to take over once they are ready to do so. The question for us in this Council is whether the United Nations has the wherewithal to stay the course and leave only when it has fulfilled its mandate of providing the framework for self-government and establishing conditions for sustainable developments. This is the key question we have to answer. One way of finding out what the answer is for the Security Council to visit East Timor, as indeed was just proposed by Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello. This is just a suggestion that we support.

Finally, this morning at the informal consultations a draft presidential statement on East Timor was introduced. In principle, we believe that such a presidential statement could be helpful. But, as we also emphasized at the informal consultations, we have grave reservations about rushing this statement. We hope that all of us will deliberate carefully on this presidential statement before we reach a final agreement. It is vital that we send the correct signals at this delicate phase of East Timor's transition.

Mr. Harrison (United Kingdom): Through you, Mr. President, I would like to thank the Secretary-General for his comprehensive report and Mr. Vieira de Mello and Mr. Ramos-Horta for their briefings at the beginning of our deliberations. Their personal observations on the current situation on the ground in East Timor and their views on the way forward have added a valuable additional dimension to today's discussion.

The United Kingdom welcomes the good progress that is being made to prepare for the democratic elections in East Timor on 30 August. These elections will be a huge milestone in East Timor's development and in its journey towards independence. In this respect, we are very encouraged that 14 out of the 16 parties contesting the election have signed up to the pact of national unity and thereby have committed themselves to respecting the outcome of the election and to defending multi-party democracy. We hope that this augurs well for a peaceful election campaign and the acceptance and full implementation of the election results. It is very good that there has been some in-kind donor assistance for the political parties as they prepare for the election.

The United Kingdom endorses the Secretary-General's analysis of the registration exercise for refugees remaining in West Timor. The decision of the majority of refugees to remain in Indonesia at this time should not be seen as a final one. We firmly believe that refugees should retain the right to change their minds and to return to East Timor in the future if they so wish.

We also welcome the increased effort made by the East Timorese leadership in recent weeks towards reconciliation. In particular, we believe that the establishment of the Truth, Reception and Reconciliation Commission is a very positive step, which will serve to promote community reconciliation and, perhaps more importantly, to relieve the pressure on the formal justice system. The United Kingdom is providing funding to support this Commission.

We are, on the other hand, very concerned that political instability in Jakarta has weakened efforts to initiate the establishment of the ad hoc tribunal for the prosecution of serious crimes committed in East Timor or the appeal against the Atambua murder verdicts. We very much hope that the recent change in Indonesia's political leadership will result in great progress on that front, and we call on the new Indonesian Government to fulfil its obligation to make early progress in this area. It is vital for the long-term stability of East Timor that those responsible for serious crimes be seen to receive fitting punishment.

I should like to end by looking ahead. We have achieved great progress in East Timor, more than I think any of us would have dared to hope during the dark days of 1999. As Mr. Vieira de Mello said, we started from absolutely nothing. The United Kingdom pays tribute to all those involved who have contributed to those achievements: to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor, and in particular to the people of East Timor themselves.

But we cannot afford to be complacent. It is clear from the Secretary-General's report and from the presentations of Mr. Vieira de Mello and Mr. Ramos-Horta that much remains to be done before we have the stable and fully independent East Timor which we all hope for. We must remain vigilant, and we must protect

the investment that we have all made. As Mr. Ramos-Horta said, peace remains fragile. So there should be no hasty withdrawal, even though there should be no permanent presence. I am sure we all heard Mr. Ramos-Horta's appeal to support the careful recommendations of the Secretary-General. My delegation also listened very carefully in that regard to the careful and detailed arguments put forward by Ambassador Mahbubani, which we endorse.

The United Kingdom recognizes the importance, therefore, of a continued United Nations presence in East Timor after independence, and we welcome the planning which is already under way for that successor mission. We look forward to receiving fuller information in the Secretary-General's next report, including details on the shape of the follow-on mission and a clear timetable for its implementation. In particular, we look forward to a comprehensive analysis of the military and civilian police requirements, based on a full review of East Timor's security needs, and to a thorough exposition of the proposed working relationship among the successor mission, the new East Timorese Administration and the United Nations agencies.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): Bangladesh thanks you, Mr. President, for holding this open debate on East Timor. This morning, we heard a very useful briefing by the Special Representative of Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello. His presentation was characteristically cogent and eloquent. We note the substantive progress made in various fields since the last report that Sergio Vieira de Mello presented to the Council on the East Timor situation, on 26 January 2001. For that, we commend the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and, in particular, the leadership of Sergio Vieira de Mello.

We would also like to welcome the valuable address that Mr. José Ramos-Horta made to the Council this morning. He has once again provided the Council with helpful perspectives on East Timor's situation and on its future after the elections.

East Timor has travelled a long distance since September 1999. With the first democratic elections only a month away, the East Timorese are now approaching a critical point in their history. Mr. Vieira de Mello has informed us of a number of developments in addition to those described in the Secretary-General's report (S/2001/719). He has also outlined a number of preparatory steps that UNTAET is taking for the smooth conduct of the elections and the subsequent transfer of authority to the first full-fledged East Timorese Government. We believe that the four broad objectives he outlined are very relevant, and those objectives have our full support. In that context, we very much welcome the format and content of the key benchmarks set out at the end of the Secretary-General's report.

A lot has been achieved in a very short period of time through cooperative engagement of the Timorese people and the international community. The Secretary-General's report portrays the participatory and on many occasions innovative approach followed in establishing a pluralistic society and a multi-party democracy in East Timor. Particularly, some noteworthy achievements over the past months signal East Timor's advance towards a sustainable social and economic base. Let me cite a few of these: women are increasingly taking part in decision-making; the election process is attracting qualified individuals, and we were particularly pleased to hear this morning from Sergio Vieira de Mello that a large number of women candidates will be participating in the elections; the East Timorese civil service is being integrated into all major decision-making areas; substantial Trust Fund resources, as high as 40 per cent, are being invested in the social sector, particularly in health and education; and women are coming up prominently in entrepreneurial efforts, and we note with satisfaction that women occupy one third of the jobs generated by the World Bank's Small Enterprises Programme.

Still, we believe, there are a number of areas where unfinished tasks should be approached carefully and with a well planned timetable for implementation.

The first area is capacity-building and technical assistance. For some more time, East Timor will need support from the international community in the areas of civil administration, policing, the judiciary and basic social services. We welcome Sergio Vieira de Mello's comment this morning that capacity building is the main endeavour of the United Nations in East Timor. Multiple sources closely familiar with the territory and following the developments there confirm the need for the ongoing commitment of the international community in post-independence East Timor. It is absolutely necessary for Timorization to take root. Otherwise, all the efforts of the international

community will be in vain. Both the current report of the Secretary-General and his last one (S/2001/42) underline clearly the need for an international presence in the early years of an independent East Timor.

The second is a continuing United Nations presence. While East Timor will continue to receive assistance from bilateral donors and international financial institutions, United Nations assistance will constitute the core of all international assistance. The United Nations is engaged in meeting urgent needs in areas such as security, public safety and governance. The Secretary-General's report sufficiently explains the reasons behind the need for a continuing United Nations presence in the civil administration — and within that, particularly in public finance and public sector management — and in civilian police, defence and the justice system. In all those spheres, the United Nations is engaged effectively. If the United Nations makes a rapid withdrawal, the precious investment we have made in East Timor during the past two years would be at stake.

Therefore, a phased withdrawal should be finalized only following consultation with the new East Timorese national Government. In that regard, for some months, back-stopping by international advisers could be a useful way to assist East Timorese effectively to build up capacity and to gather experience. East Timorese should not get the impression that the international community has abandoned them at a critical stage of their nation-building.

Thirdly, the cooperation and support of Indonesia is another important aspect for an independent East Timor. We hope that the new Government just installed in Indonesia will realize that expectation effectively. At the same time, worthwhile people-to-people contact between Indonesia and East Timor is necessary to generate understanding and promote a culture of peace between them. We believe that while the Governments make efforts to promote closer relations, civil society in Indonesia and East Timor could complement governmental efforts.

The fourth area relates to the role of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). East Timor would obviously look towards eventual membership of ASEAN. In a regional setting, ASEAN can play a key role in maintaining the sovereignty and territorial integrity of East Timor as its future member.

We welcome the establishment by the Secretary-General of the working group on post-UNTAET planning in East Timor, and we would emphasize the importance of there being a civilian component to the United Nations presence for some time more. Bangladesh would be happy to contribute civil administration and civilian police professionals to such a presence.

We note UNTAET's preparations for holding elections to the Constituent Assembly, as mentioned in paragraph 62 of the Secretary-General's report. We fully support its efforts and hope that a free and fair election can set East Timor robustly on its path to independence.

Let me conclude by saying that in the run-up to the election to be held in exactly a month's time and in the subsequent independence, we would encourage UNTAET to continue to employ determined and well-planned efforts to prepare East Timor effectively for its sovereign existence. Bangladesh has been making its humble contributions to the empowerment of the Timorese people through the Grameen Bank's microcredit initiatives. We believe that — as the territory emerges as the first independent State of the new millennium, in an expression of the will of its people — continued support to East Timor is a major responsibility of the international community.

Mr. Ayari (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): I too would like to thank the Secretary-General for his progress report on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), and I would also like to thank Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his useful and complete briefing on the developments in East Timor. I also thank Mr. José Ramos-Horta for his briefing.

The phase that East Timor is now going through is an important stage in the history of the East Timorese people, who are moving inexorably towards independence. In this regard I would like to pay a sincere tribute to UNTAET for the effectiveness with which it has shouldered its responsibilities and is continuing to do so in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. The upcoming elections, which are planned for 30 August and are expected to be pluralist and democratic, are a real reason for satisfaction and augur well for the future of the East Timor. We hail the signing by the registered

parties of a national unity pact, by which they have committed themselves to respect the rules of democracy and fair competition and the verdict of the polls. This is a positive step.

The elections will in particular allow the movement from the Transitional Administration to an independent East Timorese Government. This Government will be confronted with numerous problems and challenges, which it will have to meet. International community assistance for this effort will be indispensable.

We welcome the progress that has been made towards establishing the basis for an effective administration, which will have the onerous responsibility of governing the country in a viable manner and of promoting a climate conducive to the integral development of East Timor.

The best way to ensure the future of East Timor is for it to establish good-neighbourly relations with the countries of the region. In this regard we welcome the conclusion by East Timor and Australia of the Timor Sea Arrangement, which was the culmination of 16 months of negotiations. We also would like to emphasize the importance of confidence-building between Indonesia and East Timor. The Indonesian authorities for their part have time and again demonstrated their readiness to cooperate with UNTAET and to establish mechanisms for dialogue and concerted action in order to resolve the outstanding issues, such as the problems of refugees and displaced persons.

The importance of the regional context was emphasized earlier by Mr. Ramos-Horta when he said:

> "a strong, dynamic and creative relationship with the region will be our best defence".

Finally, I would like to say that we support the major efforts being undertaken by UNTAET, the troop-contributing countries, the United Nations Development Programme and the donor countries. They are playing an important role in providing the East Timorese a solid basis for governing, in an atmosphere of peace and stability, once independence has been achieved.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to reiterate Mr. Ramos-Horta's view stressing that the peace remains precarious and that any hasty withdrawal would threaten what has been achieved. Indeed we believe that a great deal remains to be done, and the commitment of the international community to East Timor should be preserved. What is at stake here is the future of this nascent State.

Mr. Hume (United States): I would like to thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for his briefing of the Council and in particular for the professionalism, dedication and simply good service of him and his colleagues in East Timor. I would also like to thank Mr. Ramos-Horta for his comments this morning, including the affirmations he has made regarding his hopes for the future of his country.

The most important thing for us to do today is to send a clear, unambiguous signal that the Constituent Assembly elections scheduled for 30 August are a major step forward towards a free and independent East Timor. Everyone here hopes and expects that these elections will be conducted peacefully and that there will be a smooth and fair implementation of the results. We have consistently supported the efforts of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) to strengthen the involvement and direct participation of the East Timorese people with the Administration of East Timor. The establishment of an elected Constituent Assembly is a logical, welcome next step in this process, as is the selection in mid-September of a new transitional cabinet, reflecting the election results and the principle of national unity, and composed entirely of East Timorese.

We have heard from a number of sources that there is anxiety among the East Timorese people as they approach this election with the memory of the popular consultations still fresh in their minds. It is important for them to look at the differences that those two years have made. Now nearly all the parties have signed a pact of national unity, committing themselves to a peaceful political campaign and to accept the outcome of elections. Now there are United Nations peacekeepers and civilian police throughout the territory. In addition, their fellow citizens are in the nascent East Timorese Police Service and East Timorese Defence Force. This election will be different. It will be safe, and it will set the tone for the future.

As part of that future, at a later date and when there are elected East Timorese representatives among our interlocutors, we will need to talk seriously about the international presence after independence. In its

resolution 1338 (2001) the Security Council stressed the need for a substantial international presence in East Timor after independence. I think I can say that the Council still firmly holds that view.

The United States Government hopes that this substantial presence will include a wider range of United Nations agencies and programmes engaged in East Timor. We welcome the Secretary-General's recommendation, contained in paragraph 54 of his report, that his Deputy Special Representative after independence should be the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Resident Representative in East Timor.

The Secretary-General's recent report also provides us with the beginning of a useful road map for getting from where we are now, on the eve of elections, to where we want to be, next year, on the eve of independence. In particular my delegation supports the Secretary-General's intention to adjust downwards some parts of the UNTAET structure in the upcoming months. This is both well reasoned and realistic, and also completely within the Secretary-General's jurisdiction, independent of Council action.

Today is not the time to get into a protracted discussion of the Secretary-General's recommendations on a post-UNTAET presence. The upcoming elections are our first priority. We will have time later for other discussions. I would like to say, however, that we have looked carefully at paragraphs 52 to 60 of the Secretary-General's current report, and we look forward to October's more detailed elaboration of the proposal for fielding a smaller successor mission to UNTAET. We presume that this follow-on report will use as a starting point the commitment in paragraph 53 that this will be a substantially smaller presence and the discussion in paragraphs 58 and 59 of how the peacekeeping force can be reconfigured and eventually, in due time, withdrawn.

That brings me to two questions that I would like to pose to Mr. Vieira de Mello to end my remarks. The first relates to paragraph 56 of the report, where it estimates that a certain percentage of the East Timor Transitional Administration staff and the UNTAET administrative staff will be reduced at the end of the current mandate. I wonder if you could give us an idea of how many international staff work in those two entities, respectively, at the current time.

The second question relates to UNTAET's relationship with the Indonesian Government. There has been progress in some areas, but the report notes that there are many outstanding issues, including the refugee and militia situation in West Timor, cooperation in the judicial sphere, a range of economic issues, such as pensions, and access from Oecussi to the rest of East Timor. I would be interested in your comments and those of José Ramos-Horta about engaging with the new Government on those issues.

Mr. Granovsky (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): I, too, would like to express gratitude to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for his important and interesting briefing. We have also listened attentively to the very substantive statement by the member of the Transitional Cabinet and major political figure of East Timor, José Ramos-Horta.

Today's meeting of the Security Council is dedicated to reviewing the important processes taking place in East Timor, in particular within the framework of preparations for the Constituent Assembly. Necessary assistance for this review is provided by the progress report of the Secretary-General on the activities of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor. The report is an extremely substantive document that provides a detailed description of the efforts of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor and of successes in the Timorization of the structures of power as the movement towards independence advances. We share the conclusions of the Secretary-General and the thrust of his ideas concerning the future role of the United Nations in East Timor. We expect that they will take on the form of recommendations in his next report, to be submitted at the end of October.

We consider that preparations for the transition of East Timor to a new status is being carried out in a logically planned manner. It is extremely important that this process remain smooth.

In any case, the Security Council must take into account the need for a thorough adjustment of its actions so that the future — in our view, absolutely indispensable — evolution of the United Nations presence in East Timor does not impinge on this process. It is necessary to recall here that the operation in East Timor opened up a fundamentally new page in United Nations peacekeeping and that its success or

failure is directly linked to the prestige of the United Nations.

Miss Durrant (Jamaica): My delegation wishes to welcome the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, and Mr. José Ramos-Horta, member of the Transitional Cabinet of East Timor responsible for Foreign Affairs. We thank them for their important contribution to the Council's consideration of the situation in East Timor.

The Security Council must now focus on developments in the territory, the preparation for elections on 30 August, progress made in capacity-building and the exit strategy of the United Nations. In this regard, we are grateful for the update provided on each of these areas in the Secretary-General's report, and I wish to comment in turn on these issues.

First, on the preparations for elections and independence, the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) has made excellent progress in the registration of political parties and the residents of East Timor. We are pleased that the election campaign has been peacefully launched and that deadlines for registration on other activities have been met. The fact that no party is basing its campaign appeal on regional or ethnic affiliations is encouraging, as is a commitment of the parties to conducting themselves in a peacefully and mutually respectful fashion and to defending multi-party democracy. We are optimistic that, with the special preparations to ensure public safety, the community policing activities and the apparent commitment of the people of East Timor to this process, the elections will be conducted with fairness, with wide participation and in an environment of calm and stability.

We look forward to the establishment of the Constituent Assembly after elections and to its important work on the constitution. We hope that the wide participation encouraged during the election campaign and the involvement of the population in the decision-making process will also be an essential part of the second stage of the political process. We wish to stress the importance of finding common ground with regard to the drafting of the constitution and the need for those intimately involved to work in a spirit of cooperation and compromise. We also anticipate a renewed focus on economic and social development and reconstruction during this period.

Secondly, with regard to capacity-building, the Secretary-General's report details the substantial progress that has been made in the areas of finance, the economy, education and the social services. We are particularly interested in the progress made in the area of justice and reconciliation. The National Council's finalization and endorsement of a regulation establishing a Truth, Reception and Reconciliation Commission is a welcome development.

Developing a strong and effective police force and improvement of the judicial system are also objectives important to addressing the security situation and the overall maintenance of law and order.

We note the progress that has been made so far in the transfer of authority to the East Timorese. In particular, we are pleased that efforts have been made to ensure gender balance at the different levels of the East Timorese Administration and that women constitute some 27 percent of candidates on the national list of parties. We hope that these initiatives will also result in a substantial number of women being elected to the Constituent Assembly.

On the East Timor economy, we view the signing of the Timor Sea Arrangement as an important development in the Timorization process. The long-term benefits expected to accrue from this agreement, along with the strong economic growth referred to in the Secretary-General's report, augur well for East Timor's economic viability and sustainability. The assistance of United Nations agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme and of international financial institutions and their future collaboration on development plans will also be crucial in contributing to the economic growth of East Timor and in creating an enabling environment for investment.

The refugee situation remains of concern to us, as do incidents of militia activity in West Timor. We commend the Indonesian Government for its cooperation in the registration of refugees in West Timor, and we look forward to the findings of the inter-agency security assessment mission, which visited West Timor from the 6 to 14 July. We again encourage the Government of Indonesia to implement all the measures called for in resolution 1319 (2000) in order to create a more secure environment for the return of United Nations staff to West Timor.

My delegation cannot forget the murder of the staff of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees last September. We attach importance to the implementation of the memorandum of understanding on cooperation in legal, judicial and human rights matters. We urge the Government of Indonesia to take steps to implement the section of the memorandum pertaining to the transfer of persons for the purpose of prosecution.

In regard to the exit strategy, it is clear that a lot more needs to be done in East Timor and that the impact of many of the initiatives taken by UNTAET can be evaluated only in the long term. In this regard, the Secretary-General's report due in October will be an important contribution to the evaluation by the Council. We must therefore carefully consider the timing and impact of the reduction of the international presence in East Timor. East Timor, after all, constitutes a unique experiment for the United Nations. We are all agreed that after independence, East Timor will still require the assistance of the international community. Our exit strategy depends a great deal on the progress in capacity-building, especially in the areas of the police, the justice system, institutional capacity and the long-term security of East Timor.

We look forward to discussing the recommendations of the working group on post-UNTAET planning and the recommendations of the integrated mission task force. We note the recommendations in the Secretary-General's report and welcome the proposed inclusion of a human rights component in the successor mission. We would also like to emphasize the importance we attach to the development and training of the East Timor Police Service, and we encourage UNTAET to work urgently towards achieving the targets set for December 2001 and April 2003.

We agree with the Secretary-General that the substantial strength of the United Nations civilian police should be maintained until East Timor police are fully trained and deployed. We also agree with the Secretary-General's assessment of the security situation in East Timor. We share his view that the militia groups will continue to pose a threat both to the internal stability of East Timor and to the well-being and security of refugees remaining in West Timor. We therefore support the need for a continued United Nations force, the size of which has to be determined in close coordination with the elected representatives of the East Timorese people so that we can maintain a secure environment. We feel it is important that the military presence be proportionate to the security risks and threats to the territory. In this regard, we must heed the appeals made to the Council by Mr. Ramos-Horta.

The continued support of the international community for the people of East Timor is crucial to the cementing of the substantial gains already made and to future sustainable growth in East Timor. We also agree with Mr. Ramos-Horta that excellent relations with other countries in the region will be East Timor's best defence.

In conclusion, Jamaica salutes the people of East Timor in their long, long struggle for self-determination, and we look forward to welcoming East Timor into the family of nations after independence early next year. We also pay tribute to the men and women of UNTAET, under the dynamic leadership of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello.

Mr. Doutriaux (France) (*spoke in French*): France associates itself with the statement that Belgium will make later on behalf of the European Union. I will merely make a few comments in my national capacity.

First, I wish to thank Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello and Mr. José Ramos-Horta for the clarity and the precision of their statements. With them we can take stock of the absolutely outstanding work accomplished by the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and of the progress in the transition towards independence and in particular of the Administration's continuing "Timorization" — I use that term even though Mr. Vieira de Mello does not consider it appropriate; it is the word one must use. I wish to pay tribute once again to the personnel of UNTAET. The progress achieved brings us closer to our ultimate common goal, which is the building of an independent and viable Timorese State.

We welcome the upcoming election of the members of the Constituent Assembly on 30 August. We need to work together with Timorese officials to make that consultation a success. We should especially mention the quality of the preparation of this timetable, in particular the conclusion of the national pact signed by the majority of political parties. These elections will clearly be a critical stage in the political transition. The international community, for its part, will see its role thoroughly changed. There will be less need than in the

past of replacing Timorese authorities. Rather, it will be a question of accompanying them on their road towards independence.

We welcome, moreover, the creation on 20 June 2001 of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The process of discussion with the militias must also be supported, and we thank Mr. Ramos-Horta for the clarifications he gave us in this respect. We believe that only the attainment of political power by the Timorese will make it possible to progress in the reconciliation process. To ensure the stability of the country, we believe it is essential to promote the rapid recognition of Timorese political power and the earliest possible accession of East Timor to independence, once the presidential elections have been held.

Indonesia, for its part, also has a role to play in the issue of disarmament and the dismantling of the militias. We welcome what was indicated by Mr. Ramos-Horta concerning relations with Indonesia, particularly since the designation of the new president of Indonesia. We call upon the Government of Jakarta to implement appeal procedures concerning the murder in September 2000 of the three staff members of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Atambua, and to bring to trial the perpetrators of violations of human rights in East Timor. The problem of violence linked to traffic in the border zone is a legitimate reason for concern. In order to deal with the roots of this phenomenon and control this violence, a strategy for harmonious development with West Timor must be developed.

We have taken due note of the report of the Secretary-General, which clearly recounts the work and missions of UNTAET and presents more clearly what is to come. We note that the Secretary-General envisions a substantial reduction in the international presence, and we await with interest the specific figures in his next report, in October, on the pre- and post-independence periods.

We would like to thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for the clarifications he gave us in his introductory statement, particularly regarding security. In this respect, I associate myself with the question Mr. Vieira de Mello was asked by Ambassador Hume on one of the paragraphs of the report.

The next report should allow us to obtain broader indications on the expected duration of maintaining the international presence and on the distribution of roles between, on the one hand, the United Nations mission to follow after UNTAET, and on the other, the United Nations funds and programmes such as the United Nations Development Programme, the international financial institutions and the regional organizations, whose role is called on to grow rapidly as the country progresses towards independence. I have indeed noted what Ambassador Mahbubani indicated regarding the role that could be played by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and he also referred to the very recent meeting of the ASEAN ministers at Hanoi.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I, too, wish most particularly to thank Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and Mr. José Ramos-Horta for their very comprehensive and enlightening statements. We also wish to thank the Secretary-General for the report that is before us.

The excellent and highly appreciated work of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) can largely be attributed to the experience, dedication and personal and professional qualities that Mr. Vieira de Mello has brought to his difficult task.

The Security Council is entering a decisive period for the future of East Timor. The elections scheduled for 30 August to elect a Constituent Assembly are an essential step in the construction of an independent State in East Timor. The United Nations has no choice but to accompany the Timorese to the very end, that is, until they have developed local capacities that will allow the emerging State to create the conditions for adequate and sustainable development. The Security Council, the United Nations system and the Timorese, in particular, all face the challenge of contributing to the establishment of a system of government in which law, institutions, respect for human rights, tolerance and respect for diverse ideologies and viewpoints prevail and in which, we must say yet again, full, complete and due justice is essential.

Colombia, as a member of the Security Council, wishes actively to contribute to the construction by the Timorese of a promising future in peace. We want favourable results in the political, economic and social spheres and therefore believe that our exchange today marks the onset of a strategic debate that should lead to defining an appropriate role for the United Nations in

East Timor. Colombia feels that, in determining the future of UNTAET, the sole valid criterion is one that will surely be simple to define: the specific conditions and needs of East Timor and its people. Any other criterion that may be brought to the debate — such as budget, the needs of other peacekeeping operations, current or potential, and so on — could lead us to draw inappropriate conclusions. This is not a simplistic assertion, but a realistic one, given the situation in East Timor.

We must first decide what East Timor needs from the United Nations and then define how to provide what the Timorese need. In this context, it is quite obvious that paragraphs 52 through 60 of the Secretary-General's report require very careful study. The Security Council will keep abreast of the elections to be held on 30 August; once the Timorese have expressed their political will, the Council must ensure that its opinion is given due weight in the definition of UNTAET's mandate and of any other mandates that might be agreed.

I should like to ask the Secretariat a few general questions in order to obtain an up-to-date understanding of certain aspects of the report. First, I should like to be a little clearer on how the presence of other United Nations agencies in East Timor is to be coordinated with any future decision of the Security Council concerning UNTAET. For example, paragraph 54 refers to certain ideas relating to the Resident Coordinator of the United Nations Development Programme, which would surely be of interest to the Executive Board of that Programme. How is coordination to be established between the efforts of such boards and the Security Council's proposals on the future of UNTAET?

Secondly, I should like greater specificity on the status of the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF), which, according to paragraph 22 of the report, is scheduled to be completed by the end of the year. How will those who have been elected participate in UNDAF? Will they be in a position to define development priorities by the end of the year or will they maintain UNDAF as a process focused exclusively on the United Nations vision?

Finally, I must emphasize the great importance of the inter-agency security assessment mission that visited West Timor from 6 to 14 July under the guidance of the United Nations Security Coordinator, as mentioned in paragraph 46 of the report. When will we receive the results of that mission and, above all, when can action be taken on them? It is clearly indispensable to proceed as quickly as possible on this security issue, hopefully before the elections.

Mr. Touré (Mali) (*spoke in French*): At the outset, I wish to thank you, Sir, for having organized this public meeting on the situation in East Timor, barely one month before the elections that will open the way to that country's independence. I also wish to thank the Secretary-General for his progress report on the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and to welcome Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and Mr. José Ramos-Horta, Cabinet Member of the East Timor Transitional Administration responsible for Foreign Affairs. I thank Mr. Vieira de Mello for his clear and precise presentation of the Secretary-General's report and Mr. Ramos-Horta for his very enlightening statement.

In the report before us, we take due note of the considerable progress made by UNTAET since our last meeting on 18 May towards building an independent, democratic and stable East Timorese State. This public meeting is an ideal opportunity for my delegation to pay a warm tribute to the Special Representative, all the staff of UNTAET and all the Members of the East Timor Transitional Administration for the steps they have taken in the political process leading to the national and international sovereignty of East Timor and the emergence of an independent East Timorese Government.

The delegation of Mali endorses and supports all the ideas, recommendations and analyses provided by the Secretary-General in his report, and shares some concerns expressed by those who have spoken before us. Allow me to make a few additional comments.

First, there can be no doubt whatsoever that UNTAET has been seriously and resolvedly involved in the process of preparing for the elections for the Constituent Assembly, to be held on the symbolic date of 30 August. The dissolution of the National Council and the opening of the electoral campaign on 15 July were concrete demonstrations of that involvement.

The massive participation of East Timorese in this first multi-party balloting is the biggest challenge facing UNTAET and, through it, the international community as a whole. In this connection, my

delegation welcomes the participation of 16 political parties and the registration of 1,138 party and independent candidates for the 88 seats in Parliament. We welcome and encourage the women candidates in particular.

The pact of national unity, signed on 8 July 2001, by 14 out of 16 parties competing for the vote, constitutes a strong political act that my delegation welcomes and supports. The fact that these parties have committed themselves to respecting the ballot results, to conducting themselves peacefully with mutual respect and to defending pluralistic democracy clearly attests to the maturity of the East Timorese political leaders and their determination to establish the bases of a solid democratic and an economically viable State.

The political parties, we believe, must become increasingly involved in the education, sensitizing and training of their activists. In order to do this, the parties need the means. In this context, we support UNTAET's decision to solicit donors' support to organize a programme of assistance for all the registered political parties and independent candidates.

Regarding the various phases of transition from a Transitional Administration to an independent East Timorese Government, my delegation welcomes the laudable progress made by UNTAET. It is encouraging to note that steady progress has been made in the last six months in the areas of staff recruitment and training and the adoption of legislation on employment and labour administration. All this certainly contributes to the Administration's transition in good conditions to the future East Timorese Government. The Timorization of the Administration must be accelerated before independence, in order to allow the country's people to take control themselves of their country's destiny.

East Timor's accession to independence must not be synonymous with the international community's disengagement. In view of the enormous sums that the international community has invested there, everything must be done to accompany the young East Timorese democracy's first steps.

In this context, my delegation takes due note of the comments made by the Secretary-General in paragraphs 52 to 60 of his report and awaits with interest his October 2001 report, in which he will outline the new mission that will replace UNTAET. My delegation attaches great importance to the questions linked to defence, public safety and governance, which must be ensured for the East Timorese throughout the critical period that will follow the elections. I am certain that the Secretary-General will make relevant recommendations in his October 2001 report regarding each of the aforementioned points.

Finally, I cannot conclude without reiterating Mali's firm support for the remarkable work achieved by UNTAET, under the effective guidance of Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, on the path to East Timor's independence, of the Timorization of the Administration and of the advent of an independent East Timorese Government. East Timor will still need the international community's support following its accession to independence. The international community does not have the right to shirk its responsibilities vis-à-vis this emerging democracy.

The President (*spoke in Chinese*): With the concurrence of the members of the Council, I intend to suspend the meeting now. The meeting will resume at 3.30 p.m.

The meeting was suspended at 1.15 p.m.